

**A Descriptive Grammar of *RAJI***

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<b>1</b>	<b>first person</b>	<b>IA</b>	<b>IndoAryan</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>second person</b>	<b>IMP</b>	<b>imperative</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>third person</b>	<b>IMPF</b>	<b>imperfect</b>
<b>AA</b>	<b>Austro Asiatic</b>	<b>INCL</b>	<b>inclusive</b>
<b>ABL</b>	<b>ablative</b>	<b>LOC</b>	<b>locative</b>
<b>ABS</b>	<b>absolutive</b>	<b>MASC</b>	<b>masculine</b>
<b>ACC</b>	<b>accusative</b>	<b>MH</b>	<b>middle honorific</b>
<b>ADJ</b>	<b>adjective</b>	<b>NEG</b>	<b>negative</b>
<b>ADV</b>	<b>adverb</b>	<b>NOM</b>	<b>nominative</b>
<b>AGR</b>	<b>agreement</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>object</b>
<b>AUX</b>	<b>auxiliary</b>	<b>PCL</b>	<b>particle</b>
<b>CAUS</b>	<b>causative</b>	<b>PERF</b>	<b>perfective</b>
<b>CLASS</b>	<b>classifier</b>	<b>PL</b>	<b>plural</b>
<b>CLT</b>	<b>clitic</b>	<b>PROG</b>	<b>progressive</b>
<b>CM</b>	<b>comparative marker</b>	<b>PRP</b>	<b>preposition</b>
<b>COMP</b>	<b>complement</b>	<b>PR</b>	<b>present</b>
<b>COND</b>	<b>conditional</b>	<b>PART</b>	<b>participle</b>
<b>COREL</b>	<b>correlative</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>past</b>
<b>CP</b>	<b>conjunctive participle</b>	<b>REFL</b>	<b>reflexive</b>
<b>DAT</b>	<b>dative</b>	<b>REL</b>	<b>relative</b>
<b>DEF</b>	<b>definite</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>subject</b>
<b>DET</b>	<b>determiner</b>	<b>SG</b>	<b>singular</b>
<b>DU</b>	<b>dual</b>	<b>TB</b>	<b>TibetoBurman</b>
<b>EMPH</b>	<b>emphatic</b>	<b>TR</b>	<b>transitive</b>
<b>ERG</b>	<b>ergative</b>		
<b>EW</b>	<b>echo word</b>		
<b>EXCL</b>	<b>exclusive</b>		
<b>FEM</b>	<b>feminine</b>		
<b>FUT</b>	<b>future</b>		
<b>G</b>	<b>gender</b>		
<b>GEN</b>	<b>genitive</b>		
<b>H</b>	<b>Honorific</b>		
<b>HAB</b>	<b>Habitual</b>		

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/ / phonemic transcription

\* ungrammatical

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## A Descriptive Grammar of *RAJI*

### Chapter- 1

#### 1.0 Introduction

India, a multilingual and pluricultural country, is a home of approximately 380 languages<sup>2</sup>. It has world's fourth largest number of languages. These languages belong to five language families - Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman and Andamanese.<sup>3</sup> Some patches of this vast linguistic expanse are yet unclassified and are witnessing gradual extinction. One such patch is *Raji / Rawati* spoken by a tribe named *Banraji / Raji / Banmanus / Banrawat / Rajbaar*, presently inhabiting in the submontane region of the west-central Himalayas in the state of Uttarakhand. Thus, *Raji* is an ethnonym used both for a group and as well as for the language they speak. The speakers have been historically referred as *Raji*<sup>4</sup> (in India) or *Raute*<sup>5</sup> (in Nepal). During interviews I noticed that *Rajis* in India use a word '*b<sup>h</sup>ulla*' for themselves, this also confirms that *Raji* is indeed an exonym 'a name given by the outsiders.'<sup>6</sup>

#### 1.1 Ethnic History

*Raji* is a little known tribal community. In India it was brought into light for the first time in 1823 by the then commissioner of Kumaun C.W. Traill. It is said that *Rajis* or *Banrawats* are descendants of the prehistoric *Kiratas*, who were comparatively early settlers of the region than the

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<sup>2</sup> This number varies from 325 to 380 due to lack of systematic surveys and difficulty of distinguishing between a language and dialects. The Anthropological Survey of India has found 325 languages using for in-group communication.

<sup>3</sup> Previously Languages of India were grouped under four families. Later on Andamanese was established as an independent family by Anvita Abbi. (2001)

<sup>4</sup> According to Khatri (2008), 'the name Raji has been given by the Nepali speaking people to refer to both the Raji people and the Raji language. Among the community, the term *phaan* (i.e. tribe) and *phaanboli* is used.'

<sup>5</sup> Describing the etymology of this word, Caughley (2000) noted that the name *Raute* is possibly a form made of *Rawat* and the common Nepali emphatic suffix *y / e* (as in *sbay* 'all'). The standard etymology for *Rawat* is that it is derived from Hindi *raut* 'prince, warrior' which is derived from Sanskrit *rajēnputra*. Such a derivation would fit with the common North Indian practice of naming ethnic groups with a term linked to *Raj - Rai, Rajput, Raji, Rajbansi* etc<sup>5</sup>. According to Crooke (1896), *Rawát - (Rájá-dúta, king's messenger)* is a title of respect but specially applied to various classes of people. In the hills it is applied to a subdivision of the *Pujáris*. So, whether it is derived from 'prince' or 'king's messenger', *Rawat* is an exonym (name given by outsiders), which has been applied to a number of different groups, both of Indo- Aryan descent (like *Khasiya Rajputs*) and 'tribes', like the *Raji*. This information was given to Jana Fortier by Ross Caughley himself.

<sup>6</sup> Diffloth had suggested the term 'exonym' to Matisoff. He submitted this in his monograph 'Languages and Dialects of Tibeto-Burman (1996)'.

*Nagas* and the *Khasas*. Atkinson (1882) stated that these early tribes entered India by the same route as the *Aryans* and the *Kiratas* were the first to arrive than the others. In course of time *Kiratas* were gradually uprooted from the region by the dominating impact of other ethnic groups; but their few descendants remained in Kumaun and Nepal.

In Kumaun they are called *Rajis* but presently they are not aware of their pre-historic *Kirati* origin. The legend current among them, as told to me, is that they were descendants of the royal family of Askote. They are same as *Rajbar* from Askote. Being elder to them they always bless them when they meet. According to the history of Kumaun *Rajbar's* belong to *Katyurri vansh*. When their empire was invaded, one branch of *Katyure's* moved to Askote i.e. *assi kot* meaning 'eighty forts'. Two step - brothers were moving with the branch and when they were close to the fort the younger brother, riding his horse, went inside the fort without taking permission from the elder brother. The elder brother became disappointed with this type of behavior of his younger brother so instead of going to the fort he went towards the jungle to show his annoyance. Assuming that sooner or later his younger brother will come and apologize to him he went deep down the valley named *Rontis*, but no one came to call him. As the night fell, he became tired and the '*nature*' gave shelter and food to him and his family. Due to dependence on nature for their sustenance later on they were called *banraut* 'king who is dependent on jungle'. The kings of eighty forts were called *Rajbars*.<sup>7</sup>

The emergence of agriculture as a most effective and stable mode of production laid the foundation of sedentary life and resulting in all the elaborations and complexities in the social system. While writing down the history of India Burton (1998) stated, 'Around 7000 BCE Neolithic communities began to be founding the valleys draining the mountains which separated the Indian subcontinent from Afghanistan and continental Asia. Before 4000, BCE hunter gatherers had merged into more complex and advanced communities of farmers and artisanal specialists in settlements of circular mud covered bamboo huts.'

In contrast to this pattern one finds that, until a few decades ago *Rajis* lived a life typical of the Neolithic age, as cave dwellers and food gatherers - subsisting on hunting, fishing and jungle produce. A few families were found living in caves and rock shelters in the year 1978. (Bora: 1988) Previously for sustenance they used to carve and trade wooden bowls called *theki*, *palaa* and boxes for grain, cloth etc. with surrounding sedentary Kumauni villagers. But conditions have changed in the last several decades and Rajis have given up 'silent trade'<sup>8</sup>. Unfortunately this traditional craft of the *Rajis* has not flourished in India. They are facing pressures such as non-availability of the

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<sup>7</sup> According to Khatri 'a legend popular among the Nepal Rajis is that once they had helped the God to cross *Bheri* river and in return they had asked Him to use a term '*raji khusi*' for their tribe in all official documents. In course of time the term was reduced to *Raaji*.'

<sup>8</sup> According to Majumdar (1944:89) 'Their trade is carried on with known and trusted agents with whom they do not have any direct or personal contact. They come with their product at midnight and place them in the courtyard of the agents and also keep some symbols by which the latter know what they want in exchange. Next night when all are asleep they stealthily enter the courtyard of the agents and take what they get in exchange. They are locally known as invisible traders.'

required raw wood due to strict state control over forests. Also, barter systems face competition with cash systems and woodenwares compete with metal, plastic, and clay containers in larger villages. Finally, **Rajis** work as tenants for landowners and have less time to pursue artisanal work. As a result now they work as wage laborer, do agriculture or raise livestock. Fishing and porcupine hunting are still their favorite work. They no more make their clothing from forest materials obtained from 'baubinia' **malu** trees but purchase cloth from the markets.

The enormous pressure of Hinduization together with the pressure to lead a sedentary life has immensely affected their way of living but one thing is clear that they still avoid socialization with neighboring Kumauni families because by nature they are very shy and aloof. Due to their socio-economic backwardness, the government of India has identified them as a primitive tribe wayback in 1965 and as a scheduled tribe in June 1967 but still their socio-economic condition is not very encouraging.



Figure - 1 A Raji couple ploughing their small piece of land near **garjia bridge**

In physical appearance, Crooke (1896) has linked **Rajis** with the non-Aryan affinities where as Atkinson has found racial mixture of Tibetans and **Khasas** in their physical features (1882). Mazumdar has related them with Mongolian affinity. Besides this Pitchard conjectured that the **Rajis** 'resemble the other numerous aboriginal tribes found along the Himalayan border, all possessing the physical character of the **Bhotiyas** in general and very unlike the **Doms** (1882).' Latham (1859) in his book *Ethnology of India* expressed that 'Rajis are the equivalents to the *Chepang of Nepal*.' Describing them in his journal at Garjia ghat Strachey (1864) stated that 'The Rajbari karinda (agent) caught two of the **banmanus, the wild men of chipula**, for my inspection. I saw nothing very remarkable about them except an expression of alarm and stupidity in their faces and they are perhaps darker and otherwise more like lowland Hindustanis than the average Kumaon Paharis.' Dreim (2001) takes **Raji** as an indigeneous South Asian racial Mangoloid.

Presently, **Rajis** exhibit mixed physical traits of Aryans, Dravidians and Mongoloids. Most of them are of wheatish complexion and a few of them have dark brown skin. They are of average height and have straight hair of blackish brown color. As of now they are intermediate headed type with medium nose, round to long face, small eyes with grey pigments. Some of them have mongoloid epicanthic fold. It appears that the intermingling of different ethnic elements for ages has caused the disappearance of their original racial features. This intermingling is very much apparent in their language also. This point will be discussed in detail in the later part of the book.



Figure - 2 Author with a group of Rajis sitting in front of their favorite tea shop in Askote

The **Rajis** have relied for their main diet on wild carbohydrate, wild yams and tubers collected in the forest. They collect diomelanophyma tuber which is their staple food. Today, however, they consume rice and wheat as their staples, especially in summer when tubers are less available. **Rajis** continue to eat different varieties of **janggli** foods such as greens, mushrooms, and fruits. Atkinson stated that ‘they seem to be almost omnivorous are said to approve especially of the flesh of the great langur monkey.’<sup>9</sup>

**Rajis** call themselves Hindu by religion, but their deities and Gods are different. According to Crooke ‘... they worship devi ...when anyone gets ill, they worship the Gods, ghosts and demon of the jungle, but they erect no temple in their honor.’ I have found that like other people of the Himalayan region they believe in spirits, goblins and spirit medium. Their God **ishT dev** do not permit them to see inauspicious evil from Nepal called **DaanDe**. The one who ignores this tradition gets a punishment. They believe that some people have special powers. The person who can predict the future is called, **dhulo**, the person who knows the ways is called **gant puuch** and the one who can mellow down the evil forces is known as **jho jhampan**. The names of their chief Gods are **churmul** and **chiplakot**. **Amabubu** is the name of the Goddess which helps them to solve problems and at the time of calamities; whereas **sameji** is a demon spirit which harms them. Presently they erect temples but these are always situated at places hidden from outsider’s view.

Apart from birth, marriage and death, they observe no other rituals. They consider birth of a child as a blessing of God but do not name the child before six months, perhaps because of the high rate of

<sup>9</sup> Presently **Rajis** living in India donot eat langur but according to Fortier (2000) this habit is quiet popular among Nepal Rajis.

infantile mortality. According to Sherring (1906) ‘all children have two names, one Hindu such as Mohan Sing and Dev Sing etc. and the other in the aboriginal tongue e.g. Dharemia, Sistic etc.’ It seems that now this transitory phase has passed and except a few all of them have Hindu names.

**Rajis** only look after their children up to the age of six years. After that the child is supposed to lend his hand in economic pursuits. Though presently they practice monogamy yet in olden days polyandry was popular among them like other Himalayan tribes. Now a day’s community endogamy and the village and clan exogamy is the prevalent custom; and its violation though accepted is not encouraged. They have quite different rituals of wedding and the custom of bride price exists in their community. Mostly nuclear families are found in this community. A married son has to bring up his wife and children independently. Among **Rajis** the woman, in principle, holds a comparatively low status because of the custom of patrilineal inheritance and patrilocal residence within a broadly patriarchal system. But in practice, she possesses a key status and is the pivot round which the whole community system revolves.

Previously **Rajis** had a peculiar death custom. They neither burn nor bury their dead but leave the dead body in the forest to be consumed by the wild animals.<sup>10</sup> But due to process of sankritization now they either bury their dead or practice cremation.<sup>11</sup> **Rajis** have patriclans, like **Paal, Chand, Visht, Rajbaar** etc. These are the names of local political elite polities. So Raji families assign themselves one of these names based on their familys’ original location, for example-**Rajis** from Askote region usually refer to themselves as **Rajbaar**. These names are family names in that they are applied to families, but they are really names based not on family but on geographical/political recognition. On this basis the following seven sub castes are found in **Rajis** ( Joshi : 1973).

Subgroup	Place	Clan
<i>dyakoTi</i>	India	<i>paal</i>
<i>pacpaiyaa</i>	Nepal	<i>kaitura chand</i>
<i>rakaal</i>	India	<i>swraaRi chand</i>
<i>baarpalli</i>	Nepal	<i>bam</i>
<i>galdyaar</i>	India	<i>kaor</i>
<i>barait</i>	Nepal	<i>gorgilaa</i>
<i>radii/ patyaal</i>	India	<i>vishT</i>

**Table-1 Names of Raji sub castes**

<sup>10</sup> One of my informants Mr. Ratan Singh who works as peon in the **Raji** Residential School, Jauljibi, passed me this information.

<sup>11</sup> Atkinson confirms the same that ‘they burry their dead and their only funeral ceremony is said to be this, that for ten days after death every night they place out in the open air vessels of rice and water for the dead.’

Not only this, four clans i.e. *sallag-mallag* based on their *ishT dev* (clan God) are also found - *DoTi, Paal, Chand, Rajbaar*. Marriage within the clan is not permitted. They practice group endogamy and clan exogamy. A few cases of second marriage are reported though this custom is not welcomed by *Rajis*. It is to be noted that interaction and marriage between Nepali and Kumaoni *Rajis* is common. My first informant Mrs. Janaki Devi, who was the *sarpanch* of *Altodi* in 1998, is a Nepali *Raji* woman married to an Indian *Raji*.

An important aspect of tribal culture is singing and dancing through which they enjoy and intertain themselves. Surprisingly enough, customary expressions of joy and fun, so usual among tribal community seem to have very little place in the present *Raji* culture. They do not even have linguistic expressions for such activities in their language. When I asked them about these terms they produced Hindi words *nacco* (dance), *ganaa* (sing) and *gitte* (song).<sup>12</sup>

*Rajis* feel close relationship with nature *prakriti* therefore, to understand them, it is necessary to know about water, river, mountain, valley and vegetation etc with which they live. According to them nature protects and helps them to grow. It is rather strange that living amongst such a rich herbal surroundings as they do, they do not take recourse to herbal treatment and use a very few herbal medicines.

### 1.3 Habitation and the Demographic Sketch

*Rajis* have been located living in small, remote and distant hamlets, consisting from four to fifteen households. Most of these hamlets lie in an inhospitable terrain amidst dense forests far away from the surrounding Kumauni villages. They are confined to nine villages, viz *Kimkhola, Bhogtirua, Ganagaon, Chipaltara, KuTachaurani, Altodi, Jamtari, Madanbori* and *Khirdwari* which fall under the jurisdiction of *Dharchula, Didihat* and *Kanalichina* blocks.

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<sup>12</sup> Sherring has made the following observations regarding Rajis' dancing style and custom, '...when they sing and dance, forming two rows each other, and move round in a circle. The curious point is that they move from left to right in the exactly opposite way to that in which Tibetan twirl their prayer wheels and in which the Hindus turn when they bathe in sacred rivers'. (1906)



map source: [www.uttara.in](http://www.uttara.in) - the official portal of Uttarakhand Govt.

**Figure-3 Map of Pithoragarh**

Recently a few families have been located in a village named *Chakarpur*. It must be noted that a culturally contiguous *Raji-Raute* tribe lives in the southwest and western regions of Nepal (Fortier 2000). Traditionally they have lived as hunter - gatherers but the group studied by Fortier has a population of about 150 people and appears stable through the last few generations. Researcher Nepala (1997) visited Raute groups living in separate but overlapping nomadic territories from 1974 through 1978. He claimed a total of about 900 Nepal side Raute who lead a nomadic life in the mid western and western hills of Nepal. According to Yadava et al. (2003) 'The *Rajis* primarily reside in different villages nearby the jungle and the riversides of Kailali, Surhet, Kanchanpur, Bardia and Banke districts of mid and far western development regions of Western Nepal and the number of mother tongue speakers is ( Census 2001) 2,959.'<sup>13</sup>

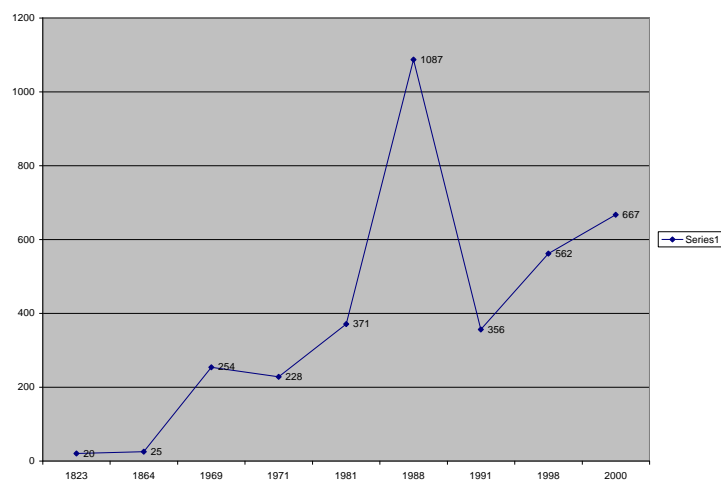
In India time to time different researchers have worked to record the population of this tribe. As it is a semi- nomadic forager tribe it is often difficult to collect the exact demographic details. The first record of their population came from the assessment of Traill in 1823 when the total number of families recorded was just twenty. In 1864 Strachey mentioned about only five or six families. After Independence, in 1969, The Harijan and Social Directorate of Uttar Pradesh produced a report that estimated their population as 254, which declined by 10.23% in two years time, and in 1971, the enumeration was 228. It is surprising to note that the very same department assessed their total population as 371 in 1981 where as the census report claimed it to be 1087. In 1991 census report; it again dwindled down to 356. According to Pokharia's study in 1998 their population was 667 in all

<sup>13</sup> *Raji Shalm Samaj* claims that there are more than 4000 Rajis in Nepal. (Khatri:2008)

the nine villages. In 2001 census their total count was 680 whereas in 2004 Fortier reported it to be 900.

Year	No. of families	Total No.	Source
1823	20	-	C.W.Traill
1864	5/6	-	Captain Strachey
1969	-	254	SocialWelfareDept.(UP)
1971	-	228	SocialWelfareDept.(UP)
1973	72	292	Prayag Joshi
1981	-	1087	Census of India
1991	-	356	Census of India
1998	143	667	D.S. Pokharia
2001	-	680	Census of India
2004	-	900	Jana Fortier

**Table- 2 The Population Record**



**Figure- 4 A graph showing their fluctuating population**



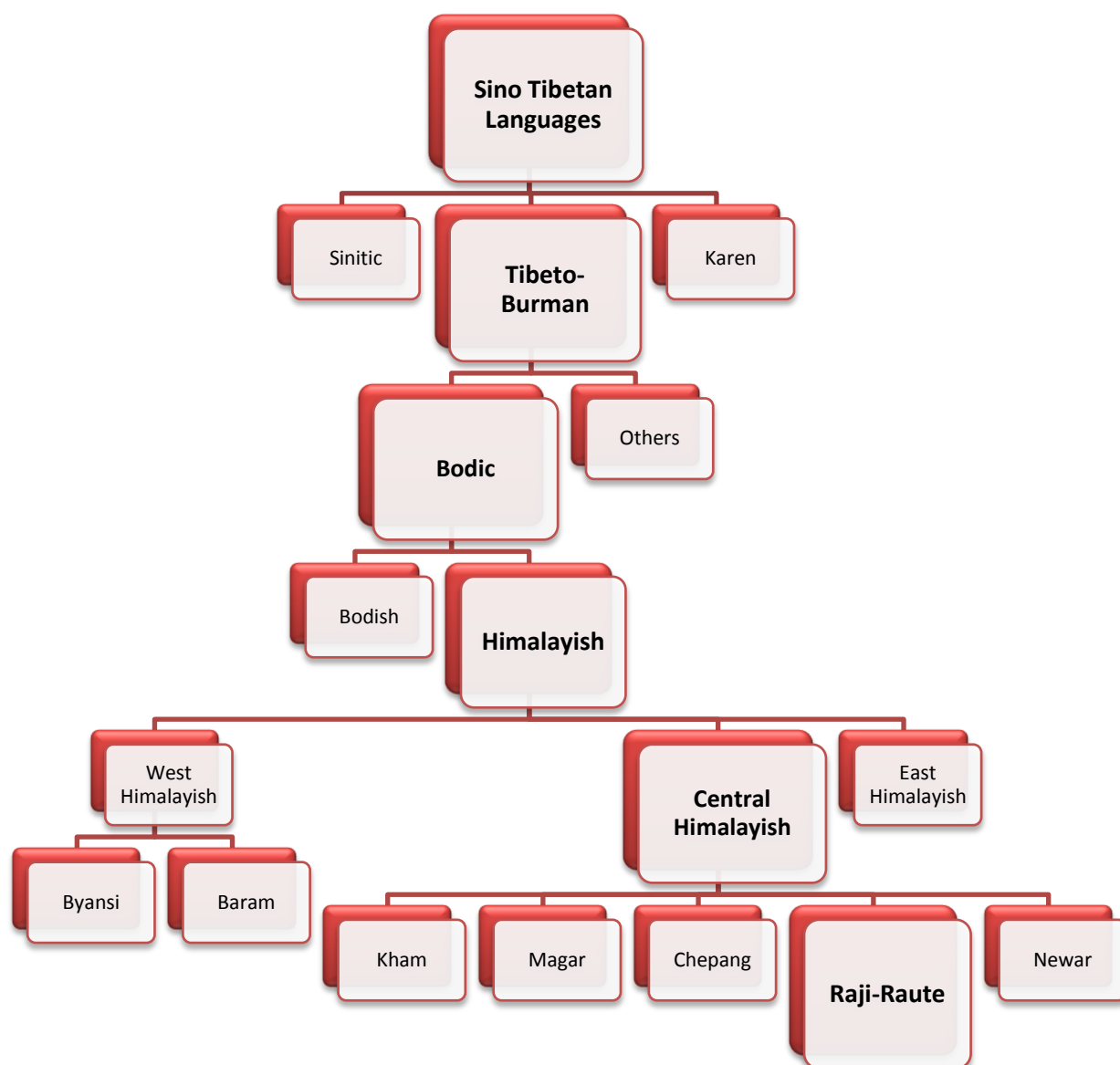
## 1.4 Genetic affiliation

Many scholars have presented their views on the genealogy of this endangered language. According to Greirorson (1909vol.3part1) it is probably a descent of Tibeto-Burman family. He listed it under the name *Janggali* and classified it in the Tibeto-Burman subfamily akin to the Nepal Himalayan subgroup on the basis of data received by him, which was mixed with large number of Indo-Aryan words.

On the other hand some linguists like Shobha R.Sharma and D.D. Sharma suggested that the living components of *Raji* language are paleo linguistic relics of some of the Munda dialects, which in the ancient past were spoken here. ‘... The basic linguistic stock and structure of it was of the Munda language, that was spoken by the Himalayan regions... but their constant and intimate contact with the speakers of the Tibeto- Himalayan and Aryan languages of the region for time immemorial has exercised its influence on its stock as well as structure’ (Sharma 1989). Austin Hale groups *Raji* with *Raut*, *Khamchi*, *Vayu*, *Chebang* and *Magar* etc. and describes it as a ‘sub stock’ of *Chebang* (cites Glover 1974) and cites Grimes (1978) as saying it is close to *Magar*.<sup>14</sup> In his article Krishan (2001) stated that ‘we have not addressed the question of the genetic affiliation of Raji other than to assume that it is a Tibeto-Burman language.’ Information provided by Ethnologue is a bit confusing. There *Raji* is listed under Nepal which is spoken ‘possibly also in India’. In his recent work, while reconstructing Tibeto-Burman Phylogeny Driem proposed to include *Chebang*, *Dura Raji-Raute* within Magaric branch. Yadava (2003) classifies *Raji* into the Central Himalayish subgroup of Bodish-himalayish group within Tibeto-Burman sub family of Sino-Tibetan language family.

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<sup>14</sup> In the STEDT Project Languages and Dialects of Tibeto- Burman edited by Matisoff et. al it is mentioned that *Raji* is “an unclassified TibetoBurman language of western Nepal, grouped by GLOVER1974 with Chebang; apparently close to or same as Raute REINHARD1974.



**Figure 5 - Sino- Tibetan Languages** (Adapted from Yadava 2003)

I agree with Yadava because a comparison of *Raji* (India and Nepal) Swadesh word list 100 with other Himalayish languages indicates a medium-close affiliation with Chepang (approximately 44% cognates and lower frequencies of affiliation with Kham, Magar and Newari etc.). Consider the following Table in this regard-

Name of language	Compared items	Total Cognates	Total % of Cognates
Raji	56	46	82
Raute	60	54	90
Kham	84	26	31
Magar	84	21	25
Newari	84	19	22
Chepang	87	38	44

**Table-3 Comparison of *Raji* with other Himalayan languages<sup>15</sup>**

<sup>15</sup> This table is taken from a previously published research paper of Fortier and Rastogi.

In my previous work (Rastogi 2002) I have tried to establish that though this indigenous language belongs to Tibeto-Burman family yet long contact with Indo- Aryan languages like Kumauni and Hindi has not only affected its vocabulary but also its grammar. <sup>16</sup>In the following table a small number of basic vocabulary items of these languages are presented, though this list could be greatly extended.

English	Raji	Chebang	Raute	Magar	Kham	Newar	Titan
one	da	?at, ya?	da	kat	daa	cha	itsa
dog	kui	kui?	kwui	c <sup>h</sup> iuw	kui	k <sup>h</sup> ica	khui
Die	ʃiy	σə i	shi	siəya	shi/siya	-	si
tree	ʃi ŋ	siŋh?	ʃiŋ	ruk	siu /singh	syima	-
nose	ʃina	σəina	ʃinna	min <sup>h</sup> a	tsina/sina	-	nya
sleep	iʃe	?en? /?em?	iise	misni	siya, se	-	dus
fire	m <sup>h</sup> ə	m <sup>h</sup> eh	m <sup>h</sup> ai	m <sup>h</sup> eh	meh	-	meə
water	ti / c <sup>h</sup> i	ti	ti/chi	di	ti / c <sup>h</sup> i	laa	soti
I	na	ŋaa	naa	ŋa	ŋa	jii	gye
you	nəŋ	naŋ/nin	ngaa	naa	ŋa	c <sup>h</sup> a	kaə?

**Table-4 Comparison of Raji with other Tibeto- Burman languages**

I would also like to mention a few other points to substantiate my view.

- There is a prominence of nasal sound ‘ŋ’ in **Raji**. One of the striking features of Tibeto-Burman languages is that they have nasal ‘ŋ’ prominently occurring in all distributions, for example-*diŋo* ‘buffalo’, *k<sup>h</sup>uŋ* ‘three’, *hoŋ -ko* ‘catch’, *nəŋ* ‘you’ etc.
- **Raji** has original numerals upto six only. Other numerals are borrowed terms. The case is very similar in old **Magar** and **Kham** languages. For example –

<sup>16</sup> According to Polla also(2006) ‘...some languages, such as **Raji** are so mixed with features that it is hard to determine if it is Tibeto-Burman language heavily influenced by Indo-Aryan and Munda or a Munda language heavily influenced by Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan.’

English	Raji	Magar	Kham	Newari
One	Da	kat	da	c <sup>h</sup> i
Two	Ni	nish	-	ni
Three	k <sup>h</sup> uŋ	soŋ	sum	swom
Four	Pari	pi	paari	pi
Five	pəŋa	ŋa	rŋa	ŋa
Six	Turko	-	-	k <sup>h</sup> u

**Table-5 Comparison of Numerals**

- There is an absence of gender system in Raji like other Tibeto-Burman languages.
- It has a flexible word order and while speaking a sentence the subject is often dropped. In the present language form SOV is the most commonly used word order.
- Tibeto-Burman languages can generally be regarded as giving a greater prominence to mood than to tense or aspect. The situation is similar in the case of Raji.
- In most of the Tibeto-Burman languages speakers have greater freedom to specify a particular semantic relation depending upon whether or not the specification would help to clear the ambiguity of a sentence in a given context (LaPolla: 1994). The use of case affixes is non obligatory in *Raji* also. For example-

1

*məTa    ʃiŋ    ya    p<sup>h</sup>əTTo    ha    re*  
monkey tree LOC jump PROG realis  
‘The monkey is jumping on the tree.’

2

*pak<sup>h</sup>a    T<sup>h</sup>ay    gəwa    k<sup>h</sup>əRək-u-wa*  
roof kept grass dry CAUS  
‘The grass is getting dried on the roof.’

It is clear from the above mentioned facts that Raji belongs to the West Central Himalayish branch of the Tibeto -Burman language family.

## 1.5 Previous Research

*Raji* is one of the lesser studied languages of India. In 1969 Shobha Ram Sharma, in his Ph.D dissertation, which mainly dealt with the historical and etymological development of various *Raji* words. D.D.Sharma (1994) has written an article entitled ‘Raji dialect’ in his book which according to his own submission is based on Shobha Ram Sharma’s article. In 2001 Sree Krishna collected data from Khirdwari hamlet and presented a brief sketch of *Raji* grammar. Apart from linguist a few historians (Pandey: 1993), sociologist (Bisht: 1994) and scholars related to other fields (Sharma:

1977) have worked to collect their vocabulary.<sup>17</sup> Pokharia (1998) conducted a survey of all the nine hamlets to understand their socio-linguistic conditions.

## 1.6 The Socio-linguistic Situation

The data collected from all the nine hamlets shows that bilingualism is prevalent among them. Though **Raji** is used at home, family and in religious activities yet the matter of concern is that all the speakers use a highly mixed variety. The middle aged speaker converse in **Raji** using many Hindi words whereas the younger generation converse in Hindi using a few **Raji** words.

Presently the community is passing through a turbulent state and is facing the following challenges:

- Socio-economic status
- Miniscule number of speakers
- Use reduction
- Code reduction
- Attitude towards their language

The causal factors of language loss are mostly non-linguistic and are largely political and economic. Historically **Rajis** were nomadic forest dwellers but due to external pressures (like- government policy etc.) since the last fifty years or so, they have adopted sedentary and semi-nomadic settlement styles. As a result their economic dependence on the neighbouring community has increased. It is sad that the attitude of the dominant group is not encouraging. They try to demean Rajis and their language and culture. Though the Government has started many developmental programmes yet due to narrow vision of the developers, wrong intention of the workers and illiteracy of the tribal community their socio-economic status has not improved. The whole community lives below the poverty line and is dependent on the speakers of the dominant language to earn their bread and butter.

The other challenge before this tribe is its population. Though I was confronted with very fluctuating population figures of its speakers yet it is clear that the number is getting lesser day by day due to poor hygienic and socio-economic conditions. This miniscule number of speaker is also playing a negative role in their development. As they do not form a strong vote bank, any political party is not taking interest in their socio-economic and educational development.

Reduction in the function of a language and the domain of its use is the other challenge faced by the community. The following table reflects the domain-wise distribution of Raji.

---

<sup>17</sup> Many scholars like Das, J., Shah, N.C. and Joshi, P. have also studied different aspect of this tribe.

Language	Home family	Work place	Market	Religious activities	Education	Other places
<b>Raji</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>Kumauni</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>55%</b>
<b>Hindi</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>15%</b>

**Table - 6 Use of Raji language according to domain**

It is clear from the above table that in terms of discourse *Raji* belongs to the ‘defunct’ category in certain domains while in others it has been used less and less frequently and is gradually becoming functionally less loaded. Apart from this, the language variety used by the community is not pure. The point of concern is that it is full of Kumauni loans. Thus, *Raji* language is quickly assimilating with the languages of the dominant culture. As a consequence, the original variety is getting more and more restricted in use.

It is a known fact that no aspect of a language structure is immune to linguistic influence from neighbouring speakers particularly from speakers of economically and politically dominant community. So in the case of *Rajis*, borrowing of Indo-Aryan loan words is to be expected for such terms as Hindu ideas, domestic and sedentary places and activities and for agricultural and pastoral activities and objects. But the point of concern is that a tendency to use words of the dominant language in place of the native language is apparent. For example-

English	Raji	Kumauni
uncle	<i>dukkəiya</i>	<i>kəkkə</i>
mother	<i>ya</i>	<i>ija</i>
back	<i>bwi</i>	<i>puTTʰ</i>
beat	<i>hanu</i>	<i>piTTo</i>
dark	<i>tʰepε</i>	<i>ādiyari</i>

**Table- 7 Replacement of Raji words**

This language has numerical expressions only up to six and beyond that it has loans with little or no phonetic modification. It has also borrowed many nominals and verb forms from the dominant language. Names of days and months are also Indo Aryan loans. Except for the red and black, names of other colours are borrowed from Kumauni or Hindi. Apart from these kinship terms, names of body parts, expression for flora and fauna, household artefacts, adjectives, conjunctions

have also been borrowed from Kumauni and Hindi. Borrowing is considered as a sign of the enrichment of a language as well as of its decay. In languages usually lexical borrowings result in a change in the phonological system of the language followed by a borrowing of the syntactic pattern. At the lexical level due to fusion of Raji-Kumauni elements, many hybrid words came into existence. For example –

*b<sup>h</sup>uliwar*                      next day  
*Da həjar*                      one thousand

A few markers of nativization also form hybrid constructions, such as-

*əŋ - dud<sup>h</sup>əŋ, pələŋ, kəT<sup>h</sup>əŋ, p<sup>h</sup>uləŋ, abəŋ etc.*

*re - kəma- o- re, ləgwa -re, j<sup>h</sup>əRe- i - re etc.*

*e - bajare, nandane, b<sup>h</sup>ətte etc.*

At the grammatical level while a traditional **Raji** speaker preferred VOS<sup>18</sup> order the contemporary language allows VOS, SOV and OVS orders were sometimes the S is dropped.

For example –

3

*kəlawəti    əbəŋ        ja*  
                  S            O            V

4

*ja        əbəŋ        kəlawəti*  
          V        O                      S

5

*əbəŋ                ja*  
          O                      V

‘Kalawati is eating mango’.

Generally code-switching in all communities is systematic in character with specific and well-defined rules of usage. Raji has several examples in which code -switching takes place within the Noun Phrase (NP) such as –

---

<sup>18</sup> Dr. S. R. Sharma gave a few examples of this feature like-

- *jaw re lgya Da na.*  
          eat PRES bread one 1SG(I eat one bread.)
- *hənu re ai na.*  
          beat PRES 3SG 1SG( I beat him.)
- *masi [ya cu jaw re ai.*  
          Porcupine meat eat PRES 3SG. (He eats porcupine’s meat.)

6

*t<sup>h</sup>au-ke Tulhəria murgi*

ran away red hen

‘The red hen ran away.’

7

*nəŋ b<sup>h</sup>ɛ̃ji ʃiy*

2SG buffalo died

‘Your buffalo died.’

In the following examples only the head of the NP is in Kumauni.

8

*ni bəse*

‘two buses’

9

*jəmməl d<sup>h</sup>akula*

‘all bangles’

But there are examples in which the entire NP is spoken in Raji only. Such as-

10

*tuknəha bəkka*

black goat

11

*ni pəya*

two boys

Code-switching within the Verb Phrase (VP) is also very common as is clear from the following examples-

12

*nao bənə -u-wa*

house built CAUS

Built the house.

13

*na həke ai goru ke həTT ləg-u-wa*

I caused his cow due to me hurt happen –CAUS

His cow was hurt due to me.



14

*nəŋ dəi jəma -e- re*  
 2SG curd make NATIV realis  
 Have you made the curd?

Apart from code-switching pattern within NP and VP, the most common thing that was observed, was inter-clausal /sentential switching-

15

*na nəŋ nao bi re lekin ajə Tem koi ni*  
 1SG 2SG house come realis CONJ today time 2SG  
 I have no time today otherwise I could have come to your house today.

16

*ai ja bənawət gaw kaTTo ka ha re*  
 3SG meal cooked grass cut 3(go) PROG realis  
 Having cooked the meal she went to cut the grass.

17

*na piŋyu yhā-ke g<sup>h</sup>uri gullo ləgya bənə-u-wa re*  
 1SG flour knead piece round bread makeCAUS realis  
 After kneading the flour I will make rotis.

18

*Ai pəRo ʃəkko re*  
 3SG read able realis  
 He can read.

In the case of Rajis the strength of the support system is nil. It is neither used in primary education nor does this community have any exposure to the media. As have been mentioned earlier, it is used in spoken form only.

Besides the above mentioned challenges, motivational factors like the attitude of the speakers towards their own language and the attitude of the speakers of the dominant language towards the minor language play a significant role in its development. To study the language attitude of the community, following the mentalist approach, a questionnaire was issued in all the hamlets.

S. no.	Questions asked	Yes	No
1	Do you like your mother tongue?	30%	70%
2	Given a choice which language would you like to educate your children in? (Raji or Hindi)	100% Hindi or Kumauni	-
3	Do you encourage the younger generation to speak Raji?	40%	60%
4	Do you think your mother tongue is good and useful?	20% good 10% useful	80% 90%
5	Do you feel proud of your language and culture?	Most of them were indifferent.	

**Table- 8 Attitude towards their language**

The collected data clearly reflects the negative attitude of the community towards their mother tongue. They seem to be acutely aware of the fact that their language has very little scope in promoting upward social mobility; as a result they do not attach any importance to it. Apart from this the attitude of the dominant group is also not encouraging in *Rajis* case. Most of the Kumauni people consider it as an inferior language and call it '*janggli*'. They often persuade *Raji* speakers to adopt the dominant language in place of their native language.

### 1.7 Collection of Data

The data for this work was mainly collected from Raji hamlets Altodi, Jamtadi and Kimkhole. I have interviewed many Rajis residing in these hamlets and have found a little variation in speech among these hamlets. I started interviewing **Raji** speakers about their language with little or no reference. In the beginning I just had a word list collected by Bisht that contains approximately 25 words. During interviews, my method was to ask for a lexical item for example 'head, showing them the item physically if possible. As **Rajis** are basically shy people and shun interaction with outsiders it was very difficult to interview them. A local boy Kushal Singh Kanyal helped me a lot during my first field trip. During my second visit I had a sentence list (Abbi: 2001) which helped me in the data collection. To understand the issues of language maintenance and shift I also administered a questionnaire during this visit. After working with them for around ten years I succeeded in instilling the importance of their language and the need for its preservation. As a result a few **Rajis** from Kimkhola hemlet came forward and helped me in the orthography development programme which I started after receiving grant from University Grant's Commission to work in the area of revitalization of this endangered language. I again visited field and cross checked the data and the analysis with Ratan Singh Rajbaa and a few others in March 2010 a **Raji** alphabet book for the community was published.

## Chapter -2

### 2.0 Phonology

#### 2.1 Vowels

##### 2.1.1 Minimal pairs

A list of minimal and near minimal pairs of vowels is given below-

Raji gloss	English meaning	Raji gloss	English meaning
<i>aiya</i>	here	<i>aiya</i>	there
<i>dɛ</i>	today	<i>da</i>	one
<i>Ta</i>	not(prohibitive)	<i>ti</i>	water
<i>ʃir</i>	lice	<i>ʃuro</i>	needle
<i>di</i>	ablative marker	<i>da</i>	one
<i>gəRa</i>	head	<i>gəRo</i>	girl
<i>dɛho</i>	sky	<i>dɛhe</i>	recognize
<i>dɛhe</i>	recognize	<i>diho</i>	sun
<i>bo</i>	fly	<i>bi</i>	come
<i>bi</i>	come	<i>bɛ</i>	demand
<i>ba</i>	give	<i>bi</i>	come
<i>kolo</i>	soft	<i>kulɛ</i>	cap
<i>ba</i>	give	<i>bɛ</i>	demand
<i>gore</i>	coal	<i>gɛre</i>	night
<i>kalte</i>	sell	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ulti</i>	pocket
<i>gore</i>	coal	<i>goRi</i>	field
<i>ge</i>	copula marker	<i>ri</i>	future marker
<i>ha</i>	progressive marker	<i>hi</i>	copula marker
<i>ha</i>	progressive marker	<i>hã</i>	negative marker
<i>ja</i>	eat	<i>ju</i>	winter
<i>lən</i>	long	<i>luŋ</i>	burn

**Table-9 Minimal and near minimal pairs of vowels**

Based on the above list of minimal pairs I have found following seven short vowels in Raji-

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low	ɛ	ə	a

**Table – 10 The Phonemic Inventory of Vowels**

### 2.1.2 General features of vowels

There are seven vowel sounds in Raji. Out of them /i/, /e/ and /ɛ/ are front vowels. /ə/ is a low central vowel whereas /u/, /o/ and /a/ are back vowels.

Except /ɛ/ and /e/ all vowels occur in all the positions. These two do not occur in the initial position. All vowels have nasal counterparts irrespective of their proximity to nasal consonants but except in /hã/ nasalization is not phonemic. The frequency of /ã/ is very low. It is a noticeable point that the use of glottal sounds was prominent in the hamlet of Altodi speakers but it was rarely heard at other hamlets.<sup>19</sup>

The environments of vowel contrasts are illustrated below-

**/i/ vs /a/**

*ti* (water) - *ta* (not)

**/i/ vs /ɛ/**

*bi* (come) - *bɛ* (give)

**/i/ vs /u/**

*ʃir* (lice) - *ʃuro* (needle)

**/i/ vs /e/**

*k<sup>h</sup>alti* (pocket) *kalte* (sell)

**/e/ vs /ɛ/**

*d<sup>h</sup>ere* (door) - *g<sup>h</sup>ere* (wall)

**/ə/ vs /a/**

*əi* (this) – *ai* (that)

**/ɛ/ vs /o/**

*kulɛ* (cap) - *kolo* (soft)

**/a/ vs /ã/**

*ha* (progressive marker) - *hã* (negative marker)

### 2.1.3 Initial Position

**/ə/**

*əddu*

ginger

*əp<sup>h</sup>eriya*

iron smith

*əi*

this

*əiya*

here

**/a/**

*Ama*

grand mother

---

<sup>19</sup> In his article Sharma (p. 147) had also mentioned about this feature which is probably lost with times.

<i>ai</i>	he,she,it ,that
<i>aiya</i>	there
<i>a ̣i</i>	sickle
<i>alosi</i>	lazy

<i>/ i /</i>	
<i>i ̣e</i>	to sleep
<i>iya</i>	mother
<i>ikwa</i>	mother's elder sister
<i>ituD</i>	few,small

<i>/ o /</i>	
<i>oba</i>	grand father
<i>oda</i>	grand mother
<i>oRbe</i>	to keep
<i>okare</i>	drown

<i>/ u /</i>	
<i>uhəŋ</i>	dew
<i>udar</i>	cave
<i>ukkại</i>	to roam
<i>uga ~ ug<sup>h</sup>u</i>	hole
<i>urggo</i>	high

#### 2.1.4 Medial Position

<i>/ ə /</i>	
<i>gəRo</i>	girl
<i>Tulhəriya</i>	red
<i>ləŋ</i>	long
<i>bəina</i>	big

<i>/ a /</i>	
<i>batme</i>	pork
<i>masi</i>	porcupine
<i>laTa</i>	dumb
<i>mã bo</i>	snake

<i>/ e /</i>	
<i>gedəl</i>	child
<i>celi</i>	pupil
<i>dentu</i>	stick
<i>p<sup>h</sup>eTTo</i>	jump

/ɛ/

*g ɛ re*

*c ɛ h Ta*

*d ɛ he*

*t<sup>h</sup> ɛ lo*

night

behind

recognize

plate

/i/

*kilek*

*ʃina*

*ʃir*

*ʃiŋ*

*ʃila*

Monday

nose

lice

tree

clean

/o/

*g<sup>h</sup> o ga*

*gore*

*kot<sup>h</sup> a*

*joRo*

maize

coal

chick

rope

/u/

*Tuha*

*b<sup>h</sup> ula*

*muha*

*Tulhəriya*

*yuy*

*k<sup>h</sup> uDD*

small

Rajis

mouse

red

road

to play

### 2.1.5 Final position

/ə/

*agahə*

*b<sup>h</sup> ukkə*

*d<sup>h</sup> ittə*

above

bark

below

/a/

*pitta*

*g<sup>h</sup> ɛ re*

*duŋdya*

*ʃina*

beans

wall

lame

nose

<i>b<sup>h</sup>a</i>	foot
<i>bəina</i>	big
/e/	
<i>hwe</i>	am
<i>putte</i>	biblical cord
<i>rake</i>	fight
<i>ratte</i>	morning
<i>gore</i>	coal
<i>kaRe</i>	cry
/ε/	
<i>oRbε</i>	to keep
<i>puhε</i>	knee
<i>kulε</i>	cap
<i>mhε</i>	Fire
/i/	
<i>kui</i>	dog
<i>bi</i>	come
<i>ti</i>	water
<i>ni</i>	two
<i>j<sup>h</sup>api</i>	bag
<i>t<sup>h</sup>uori</i>	bitch
<i>b<sup>h</sup>uli</i>	brother
<i>kap<sup>h</sup>uli</i>	beautiful
/o/	
<i>kolo</i>	soft
<i>goDo</i>	axe
<i>gəRo</i>	girl
<i>Diŋo</i>	bull
/u/	
<i>l<sup>h</sup>u</i>	bath
<i>hanu</i>	hit
<i>hamu</i>	hair
<i>taru</i>	hair parting

### 2.1.6 Vowel Series

In many Raji words two or more vowels are found in close proximity but the possibility to conjunct is rare. Often simple vowels like ‘ε’ or ‘o’ are also pronounced as ‘ai’ and ‘au’. The following are some examples of common vowel series found in *Raji*-

əi	<i>dukkəiɣa</i>	father’s younger brother
ai	<i>ʃaim</i>	knife
au	<i>auT<sup>h</sup>a</i>	lips
ao	<i>bətkao</i>	answer, to talk
ua	<i>hua</i>	leaf
ui	<i>kui</i>	dog
oi	<i>w<sup>h</sup>oi ~ hoi</i>	lie
ue	<i>hue</i>	rotten

It was difficult to decide whether these vowels belong to one syllable that would mean a diphthong or to two syllables, showing a vowel series. I have also found a few examples of three vowels occurring in a series in the data.

aua	<i>kəTaua</i>	bowl
aue	<i>umla-u-e ~ umla-u-ye</i>	boil

Most of the words end with a vowel. Such as-

Raji	English
<i>ləɣya</i>	bread
<i>kədiwiya</i>	scorpiyan
<i>maTa</i>	monkey
<i>Toka</i>	bear
<i>g<sup>h</sup>ulli</i>	nest
<i>d<sup>h</sup>ere</i>	door
<i>g<sup>h</sup>εre</i>	wall
<i>mabu</i>	snake
<i>hərho</i>	shy
<i>p<sup>h</sup>o ~ p<sup>h</sup>o</i>	climb
<i>b<sup>h</sup>ojo</i>	pumpkin
<i>bε</i>	send

## 2.2 Consonants

### 2.2.1 Minimal Pairs

A list of minimal or near minimal pairs of consonants is given below-



<i>d<sup>h</sup>ere</i>	door	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ere</i>	wall
<i>hapur</i>	thin	<i>hap<sup>h</sup>ε</i>	squirrel
<i>boDo</i>	big	<i>laDo</i>	stomach
<i>goRi</i>	field	<i>g<sup>h</sup>uRi</i>	ball of flour
<i>Rake</i>	fight	<i>hake</i>	hand
<i>hake</i>	hand	<i>kak<sup>h</sup>e</i>	armpit
<i>d<sup>h</sup>are ~ d<sup>h</sup>aRe</i>	peak	<i>kaRe</i>	cry
<i>pare</i>	sow	<i>kaRe</i>	cry
<i>gawa</i>	grass	<i>hawa</i>	wind
<i>ti</i>	water	<i>bi</i>	come
<i>g<sup>h</sup>ε</i>	how much	<i>dε</i>	today
<i>b<sup>h</sup>wa</i>	brother	<i>bwa</i>	bird
<i>daRo</i>	teeth	<i>jaRo</i>	root
<i>kui</i>	dog	<i>gui</i>	crack
<i>ʃui</i>	blood	<i>kui</i>	dog
<i>hanu</i>	beat	<i>hamu</i>	hair
<i>da</i>	one	<i>ja</i>	consume
<i>ga</i>	go	<i>ta</i>	not
<i>ti</i>	water	<i>ni</i>	Two

**Table – 11 Minimal or near minimal pairs of consonants**

On the basis of the above table the following consonant phonemes can be underlined in *Raji*-

	<b>Bilabial</b>	<b>Dental</b>	<b>Alveolar</b>	<b>Palatal</b>	<b>Retroflex</b>	<b>Velar</b>	<b>Glottal</b>
Stops	UA/A	UA/A		UA/A	UA/A	UA/A	
Voiceless	p p <sup>h</sup>	t t <sup>h</sup>			T T <sup>h</sup>	k k <sup>h</sup>	
Voiced	b b <sup>h</sup>	d d <sup>h</sup>			D D <sup>h</sup>	g g <sup>h</sup>	
Affricates							
Voiceless				c c <sup>h</sup>			
Voiced				j j <sup>h</sup>			
Fricatives			s ʃ				h
Nasals	m	n				ŋ	
Laterals		l					
Trills			r		R		
Semi vowel	w			y			

**Table – 12 The Phonemic Inventory of consonants**

Apart from a few examples retroflex sounds are limited to borrowed terms.<sup>20</sup> They are not found in contrastive positions. There is a prominence of nasal /ŋ/ but it mostly occurs in the word final position and is often used to nativize the borrowed words (like-dudhəŋ, pələŋ, nəŋ etc.). Not only this palatal aspirated stops /c<sup>h</sup>/ and /j<sup>h</sup>/ are also used to nativized the borrowed words.

Aspirated n<sup>h</sup>, m<sup>h</sup>, l<sup>h</sup> and w<sup>h</sup> are also observed in the data. These sounds are found in the initial position only such as-

**n<sup>h</sup>**- **n<sup>h</sup>i** ~ **ni** two

**m<sup>h</sup>**- **m<sup>h</sup>ke** ~ **mike** eye

**w<sup>h</sup>**- **w<sup>h</sup>i** ~ **wəi** who

**l<sup>h</sup>**- **l<sup>h</sup>u** ~ **lu** bath

### 2.2.2 Stops

**/p/ vs /p<sup>h</sup>/ vs /b/ vs /b<sup>h</sup>/**

**/p/**

**/pot<sup>h</sup>i/** chain **/putəli/** butterfly, **/paRi/** four

**/t<sup>h</sup>epɛ/** dark, **/hap<sup>h</sup>ɛ/** squeriel, **/nəpe/** press

**/p<sup>h</sup>/**

**/p<sup>h</sup>o/** climb, **/p<sup>h</sup>elo/** plate, **/p<sup>h</sup>ərso/** cow dunk

**/kap<sup>h</sup>uli/** beautiful, **/sap<sup>h</sup>ə/** clean, **/əp<sup>h</sup>əriya/** iron smith

**/b/**

**/bi/** come, **/ba/** father, **/bɛ/** send, **/bek<sup>h</sup>i/** pain

**/dəbb-ko/** look after, **/oRɛ/** keep, **/oba/** grand father

**/b<sup>h</sup>/**

**/b<sup>h</sup>ula/** Rajbaar, **/b<sup>h</sup>unəy/** pig, **/b<sup>h</sup>u/** leg

**/b<sup>h</sup>ub<sup>h</sup>a/** father-in-law, **/b<sup>h</sup>itəRi/** inside

**/t/ vs /t<sup>h</sup>/ vs /d/ vs /d<sup>h</sup>/**

**/t/**

**/ti/** water, **/təru/** hair parting

**/kəlte/** sell, **/k<sup>h</sup>əlti/** pocket, **/putəli/** butterfly

**/t<sup>h</sup>/**

**/t<sup>h</sup>epɛ/** dark, **/t<sup>h</sup>ao -re/** to collect, **/t<sup>h</sup>ori/** calf

**/kot<sup>h</sup>a/** chicken, **/pot<sup>h</sup>i/** chain, **/pətt<sup>h</sup>i/** she goat

<sup>20</sup> In Lapolla's (2006) opinion at phonological level the development of Retroflex stop consonants is frequently found in the TibetoBurman languages of Indosphere. This feature is not seen in the Sinosphere languages.

**/d/**

/dɛho/ sky, /diŋ o/ buffalo, /dəRo/ rice  
/lado/ stomach, /geda/ child, /hədiyari/ daily

**/d<sup>h</sup>/**

/d<sup>h</sup>əre/ awake, /d<sup>h</sup>uRe/ peak, /d<sup>h</sup>yai/ lonely  
/dud<sup>h</sup>əŋ / milk, /gid<sup>h</sup>a/ bird

**/T/ vs /T<sup>h</sup>/ vs /D/**

**/T/**

/Toka/ bear, /Tolya/ deaf, /puTT<sup>h</sup>/ hip  
/boTTa/ herb, /laTa/ dumb, /p<sup>h</sup>əTTə/ jump

**/T<sup>h</sup>/**

It does not occur in initial position.

/giT<sup>h</sup>u/ yam, /daTT<sup>h</sup>əla/ alone, /məT<sup>h</sup>-a-la/ old ladies

**/D/**

/Dola/ bad, dirty, /Dubya/ drown  
/bəDer/ bush, /pənDya/ floor, /həDəŋ / bone

**/k/ vs /kh/ vs /g/ vs /gh/**

**/k/**

/kulɛ/cap, /kolo/ soft, /kui/ dog, /gui/crack  
/bəkka / goat, /m<sup>h</sup>ike/ eye, /ja-ko/ food

**/k<sup>h</sup>/**

/k<sup>h</sup>uDD/ play, /k<sup>h</sup>ote/ hard, /k<sup>h</sup>uŋ / three  
/rik<sup>h</sup> anger, /dik<sup>h</sup>u-a/ appear, /kak<sup>h</sup>eliya/ armpit

**/g/**

/ga/ go, /goRi/ field, /gɛre/ night, /gui/ crack  
/g<sup>h</sup>oga/ maize, /uga/ hole, /urggo/ high

**/g<sup>h</sup>/**

/g<sup>h</sup>ɛ/ how much, /g<sup>h</sup>uRi/ ball of flour, /g<sup>h</sup>oga/ maize  
/bag<sup>h</sup>o/ tiger (M), /bəg<sup>h</sup>ni/ tige (F)

### 2.2.3 Affricates

**/c/ vs /c<sup>h</sup>/ vs /j/ vs /j<sup>h</sup>/**

**/c/**

/cinno/ dry gourd, /cima/ mother's sister, /cui/ small  
/kurkucci/ heel, /pāca/ Friday, /kaico/ pull

/c<sup>h</sup>/

/c <sup>h</sup>ati/ chest, / *puc* <sup>h</sup>eR/ tail, / *mōc* <sup>h</sup>/ moustache

/j/

/ *ja*/ to consume, / *ja-ko*/ food, / *jəwa*/ window

/ *həjjo*/ easy, / *doj*/ shelter, / *ija*/ mother

/j<sup>h</sup>/

/ *j* <sup>h</sup>kkəl/ all~many, / *j* <sup>h</sup>api/ bag, / *j* <sup>h</sup>uTi/ lie

## 2.2.4 Fricatives

/ʃ/ vs /s/ vs /h/

/ʃ/

/ʃina/ nose, /ʃui/ blood, /ʃiy/ die

/ aʃi/ sickle, / iʃe/ sleep, / *ho*ʃgo/ suck

/s/

/ *sijje*/ bed, / *masi*/ porcupine, / *phərso*/ cow dunk

/ *sine*/ ripe, / *sil*ɛ/ to rub

/h/

/ *hwe*/ am, / *hamu*/ hair, / *hake*/ hand

/ *məha*/ salt, / *diho*/ sun, / *tyiha*/ father's sister

## 2.2.5 Nasals

/m/ vs /n/ vs /ŋ/

In certain words pre aspirated nasals (murmured resonants) /n<sup>h</sup>/ and /m<sup>h</sup>/ are also found. But they do not occur in contrastive position for example /ni/ 'two' is often pronounced as /n<sup>h</sup>i/.

/m/

/ *mənə* ŋ / forest, / *məha*/ salt, / *muh-te-ko*/ to blow

/ *jəmma*/ all, / *hamu*/ hair, / *kəmbre*/ back

/n/

/ *na*/ I, / *nəli*/ heavy, / *nao*/ house

/ *hānu*/ beat, / *b* <sup>h</sup>unəy/ pig, / *junna*/ star

/ŋ/

It does not occur in the word initial position.

/ *Diŋ* o/buffalo, / *du* ŋ *Dya*/ lame, / *hoŋ*/ catch

/ *nəŋ* / you, / *yu* ŋ / road, / *ʃi* ŋ / tree

## 2.2.6 Laterals

/l/

/ *lao*/ call, / *lado*/ stomach, / *ləgya*/ bread

/nəli/ heavy, /Tolya/ deaf, /həola/ thirsty

### 2.2.7 Trills

/r/ vs /R/

They are often used alternatively and are not found in contrastive position.

/ R/ does not occur in word initial position like Hindi and Kumauni.

/rugga/ go away, /rake/ fight, /ratte/ morning

/bora/ fish, / t<sup>h</sup>ori/ bitch, /pari-re/ fear

/R/

/ paRi/ four, / joRo/ rope, /d<sup>h</sup>aRe/ peak

/ daRo/ rice, /kaRe/ cry, /gəRo/ girl

### 2.2.8 Semi Vowels

/y/

/yu ŋ / road, /ya/ mother

/ [yanu/ hunt, / ləgya/ bread, /byar/ tomorrow

/w/

/guwa/ mother's brother, /niwək/ day after

/ [əkkwa/ finish, /mənc<sup>h</sup>wəh/ man

### 2.2.9 Consonants clusters

In the data I have found following consonant clusters. Many clusters occur at the syllabic boundaries of polysyllabic words. Some examples belong to consonant + semi vowel group.

<i>kn</i>	<i>Tulhəriya</i>	red
<i>kw</i>	<i>ikwa</i>	father's brother's wife
<i>rk</i>	<i>kurkucci</i>	heel
<i>lk<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>bəlk<sup>h</sup>ni</i>	dry flour
<i>gy</i>	<i>ləgya</i>	bread
<i>ly</i>	<i>Tolya</i>	deaf
<i>hy</i>	<i>hyi le</i>	end
<i>ŋDy</i>	<i>duŋDya</i>	lame
<i>rs</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ərso</i>	cow dunk
<i>TT<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>gəTT<sup>h</sup>r</i>	bundle
<i>st</i>	<i>səsto</i>	cheap
<i>hg</i>	<i>māhgo</i>	costly
<i>gw</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>əgwan</i>	God
<i>hw</i>	<i>hwe</i>	am

In the above data a few consonant clusters are borrowed from Hindi language.

### 2.2.10 Gemination

Here are examples of geminates found in the data. A close look of these words reveals that they belong to Indo- Aryan languages. It seems that gemination is a borrowed phenomenon.

/ <i>bb</i> /	<i>dəbb</i>	to look after
/ <i>tt</i> /	<i>ləttəR</i>	clothes
/ <i>dd</i> /	<i>rəddi</i>	useless
/ <i>TT</i> /	<i>kəTTo</i>	cut
/ <i>DD</i> /	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uDD</i>	play
/ <i>cc</i> /	<i>nəcco</i>	dance
/ <i>jj</i> /	<i>həjjo</i>	slow
/ <i>kk</i> /	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ukka</i>	hungry
/ <i>gg</i> /	<i>ləggwa</i>	feeling
/ <i>mm</i> /	<i>jəmma</i>	all
/ <i>nn</i> /	<i>dinntae</i>	day
/ <i>ll</i> /	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ulli</i>	nest

### 2.3 Syllable structure

The nucleus position of the syllable is normally occupied by a vowel. It can be preceded or followed by one and two consonants in *Raji*. The onset and coda are optional<sup>21</sup>. In *Raji* vowel final syllables are most frequent. The syllabic structure of *Raji* can be tentatively summarized as following-

Structure	Raji examples	English
VV	<i>ai, əi</i>	that, this
CV	<i>na, bi, bɛ, ja</i>	I, come, demand, consume
VCV	<i>uga, iʃe, aʃi</i>	hole, to sleep, sickle
CVV	<i>nao, ʃui, kui</i>	house, blood, dog
CVC	<i>nəŋ, yuŋ, ʃiŋ</i>	you, path, tree
CCV	<i>hwe</i>	am
CVCC	<i>dəbb</i>	to look after

Thus Raji syllables can be categorized into two types, if it ends in a vowel it is called an open syllable and if it ends in a consonant it is said to be a closed syllable. Consider the examples- *ai, uga, na, nao* these words end in a vowel so they are called open syllable whereas examples *nəŋ* and *dəbb* are called closed syllables.

<sup>21</sup> The consonant before the peak is called the onset and after the peak is called a coda.

## 2.4 Supra Segmental Features

The vocal effect like tone, pitch, nasalization, glottalization etc. when extend over to more than one sound segment in an utterance are called supra segmental features. Though tone is very prominent feature of many Tibeto-Burman languages yet it is not found in *Raji*. Similarly I have not found glottalization as a distinctive characteristic in this language.

### 2.4.1. Nasalization

Sometimes nasalization plays distinctive role in *Raji*. For citation - /ha/ is a progressive marker where as / hã/ is a negative marker. It is important to note that in many other words it does not create a meaningful difference at all such as /gedal ~ gẽdal/ both the forms are used for the same meaning‘child’.

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## Chapter 3

### 3.0 Morphology

*Raji* is not a dominantly polysynthetic language. A word may consist of one morpheme in which case it is a bare root. For example-

<i>ai</i>	s/he
<i>kui</i>	dog
<i>ti</i>	water
<i>bBi</i>	come

Many of the *Raji* words have more than one morpheme where suffixes representing number, case etc. are conjoined. See the following-

<i>ai-ya</i> (LOC marker)	there
<i>kui-la</i> (PL)	dogs
<i>ha-i-te</i> (CAUS)	To make someone drink
<i>ja-i-</i> (PL)	consume

It can be said that *Raji* is a moderately agglutinating language. The following morphological processes by which stems are altered are found in *Raji*-

### 3.1 Morphological Processes

#### 3.1.1 Suffixation

It is the most common morphological process involved in *Raji*. For citation-

<i>na</i>	1SG
<i>na -i-</i>	1SG+ ERG marker
<i>gəRo</i>	girl
<i>gəRola</i>	girl + PL suffix
<i>pək<sup>h</sup>a</i>	roof
<i>pək<sup>h</sup>a -ya</i>	roof+LOC marker
<i>d<sup>h</sup>au</i>	fell
<i>d<sup>h</sup>au-wa</i>	fell+ CAUS marker

#### 3.1.2 Stem Modification

In *Raji* certain intransitive verb roots in their third person form are made after devoicing the initial voiced stops. For example-



/jəhre/ to laugh modifies as /cəhre/ to laugh  
 /gaRe/ to break modifies as /kaRe/ to break  
 /gəlte/ to sell modifies as /kəlte/ to sell  
 /gunhe/ to listen modifies as /kunhe/ to listen  
 /b<sup>h</sup>uike/ to ask modifies as /p<sup>h</sup>uike/ causative

### 3.1.3 Reduplication

A few examples of whole root reduplication are found in the data. For citation-

*həjjo-həjjo* slowly (ADV+ADV)  
*ha - ha* to feel shy (N+N)  
*g<sup>h</sup>umyo- g<sup>h</sup>umyo* while roaming (V+V)

Some echo words are also found in the data, such as-

*cāo cāo* chirping of birds

### 3.2 Nominal Morphology

The noun phrase in *Raji* consists of a noun or pronoun plus possibly a number and/or a gender marker. It can also be modified by an adjective which precedes the noun. The following table presents a description of noun phrase-

<i>geda</i>	child N
<i>geda-la</i>	N+ PL
<i>ləŋ geda-la</i>	ADJ+ N + PL
<i>na ləŋ geda-la</i>	PRO+ADJ+N + PL

If a case marker occurs it comes in the end of a noun phrase. Such as-

<i>əi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bəina</i>	<i>goRi-ye</i>
DEM	PRO 1SG	ADJ	N - LOC
This	my	big	field

In subclasses of nouns it is worth mentioning that in this language many nouns can not be grammatically possessed. Items that can be possessed include dog, house, child, and field. Items that can not easily be possessed include river, mountain, star, sun, moon etc.<sup>22</sup> For example-

#### 3.2.1 Possessed nouns

<i>naŋ geda</i>	my child
<i>naŋ diŋo</i>	my buffalo
<i>naŋ goRi</i>	my field

Possessive marker- ŋ is used with first person singular only in rest of the places loan genitive marker is used. for example-

*w<sup>h</sup>əi ke diŋo*

<sup>22</sup> According to the informants these things can not be possessed by man as they belong to *prakriti* (nature).

1SG GEN buffalo

### 3.2.2 Non- Possessed nouns

*\*naŋ gəDDe*

my river

*\*naŋ biTTa*

my mountain

### 3.3 Gender

Noun morphology contains various informations like gender, person and number. Raji is a natural gender language. Here gender works at lexical level and that too in human nouns only. For example-

Raji Masculine	English	Raji Feminine	English
<i>pəya</i>	boy	<i>gəRo</i>	girl
<i>pəriyar</i>	husband	<i>metε</i>	wife
<i>ba</i>	father	<i>ija/ya</i>	mother
<i>bəni</i>	sister	<i>b<sup>h</sup>wā/b<sup>h</sup>uli</i>	brother

There are certain words which refer to both the sex like '*gedal*' – child. It is interesting to note that to refer male and female animals they either use Kumauni or Hindi words. Such as-

Male		Female	
<i>gəd<sup>h</sup>a</i>	donkey	<i>gəd<sup>h</sup></i>	donkey
<i>murga</i>	cock	<i>murgi</i>	hen
<i>bag<sup>h</sup>o</i>	lion	<i>bəg<sup>h</sup>ini</i>	lioness
<i>bəkka</i>	he goat	<i>pətt<sup>h</sup></i>	she goat

These animals do not belong to *Raji* culture therefore both male and female terms are borrowed from the dominant culture. They do have independent female words for dog, being a hunter gatherer tribe which was an important part of their cultural domain<sup>23</sup>.

*kui* dog (M)

*t<sup>h</sup>ori* bitch (F)

In *Raji* gender is not reflected in verbs, which means there is no gender concord at the sentence level. For citation-

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<sup>23</sup> According to Sharma, S. R. na- and ma- are prefixed to show gender distinction but surprisingly I have not found any such distinction in the present language form.

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<i>pəya</i>	<i>kʰuDD</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
Boy	play	PROG	realis
‘The boy plays.’			

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<i>gəRo</i>	<i>kʰuDD</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
Girl	play	PROG	realis
‘The girl plays.’			

Similarly no gender agreement between noun and its modifier is found.

<i>ləŋ</i>	<i>pəya</i>
Tall	boy

<i>ləŋ</i>	<i>gəRo</i>
Tall	girl

### 3.4 Number

Raji has two way number contrasts for nouns representing animate referents i.e. singular and plural. The plural suffix /-la/ is attached to human nouns whereas singular is unmarked. For example-

<i>pəya</i>	boy
<i>pəya-la</i>	boys
<i>gəRo</i>	girl
<i>gəRo-la</i>	girls

There are two independent words ‘*jʰikk*’ and ‘*jəmma*’ to show the mass or plurality. In few places suffix /-əl/ is also added to these words. Presently they use both the words for animate or inanimate nouns but in earlier times ‘*jəmma*’ was used with inanimate nouns only. In current language following forms are found-

<i>jəmma jako</i>	all food
<i>nani jəmma ~ jəmmala</i>	we all
<i>ai jəmma ~ jəmmala</i>	they all
<i>nəŋ □ □ jəmma ~ nəni jəmma</i>	you all
<i>jʰikk-əl gedəla</i>	all/many child
<i>jʰikk-əl diŋo</i>	all/many buffalo
<i>jʰikk-əl jako</i>	all food
<i>jʰikk-əl ləttəR</i>	all clothes

In Raji verb agrees with the subject in number and verb is overtly marked to show plurality. For citation-

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<i>gəRo</i>	<i>kʰuDD</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
girl	play	PROG	realis
‘A girl is playing.’			

22

<i>gəRo-la</i>	<i>kʰuDD</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>re</i>
girl PL	play	PROG	PL	realis
‘The girls are playing.’				

### 3.5 Case

It is universal feature of human languages to have cases. Cases exhibit relation between verbs and nouns and pronouns in a sentence. In Raji only a few semantic relationships are reflected by overt phonological forms. They are free and post positionals. The case markings can be expressed ergative in certain arguments and as nominative-accusative in other arguments. It can be said that Raji has split case system.<sup>24</sup>

#### 3.5.1 Ergative

The subject of the transitive clause is marked by the ergative suffix /-i/. Bauman maintains that no complete ergative pattern of agreement exists in Tibeto-Burman family, but one often finds a rather complex variation of an idealized split ergativity with a principle that, ‘if the object of the sentence is a first or second person then agreement is with the object, if however the object is third person then agreement is with the subject of the sentence. Consider the following-

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<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>həta ə</i>
1SG	ERG	dog	NATIV	killed1SG
‘I killed a dog.’				

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<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>bora</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>həta ə</i>
1SG	ERG	fish	NATIV	killed1SG
‘I killed the fish.’				

<sup>24</sup> The split refers to the inconsistent uses of ergative in their case marking morphology in relation to verb agreement patterns.

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<i>əcəi ni mi</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bu ʃəT-e</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ə</i>
3DU	ERG	1SG	shirtNATIV	give	1SG

‘They (two) gave me a shirt.’

### 3.5.2 Nominative (Agent)

In many sentences Raji groups S (argument of intransitive sentence) and A (argument of transitive sentence) together and act as nominative accusative language. Consider the following-

26

<i>geda</i>	<i>iʃe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
child	sleep	PROG	realis

‘The child is sleeping’

27

<i>geda</i>	<i>jako ja</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
child	foodconsume	PROG	realis

‘The child is eating food.’

Raji also shows some ergative characteristics and links S with O, where NP bears the ergative case has subject properties and O command the absolutive NP. Thus, only the subject of NP is case marked ergative while the rest of the sentence follows the accusative case system.

28

<i>na- i</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>h əta</i>	<i>- ə</i>
1SG ERG	dog	NATIV	kill	1SG

‘I have killed a dog.’

### 3.5.3 Ablative

It is used where separation from something as from source or starting point or relatively fixed point is signified. It is also used in the sense of forward form. The ablative is marked by / -di /. For citation-

29

<i>siŋ</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ua</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>j<sup>h</sup>əRe</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>re</i>
tree	ABL	leaf	PL	fall	PL	realis

‘The leaves fall from the tree.’

30

<i>goRi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>re</i>
field	ABL	come	realis

‘(He) came back from the field.’

### 3.5.4 Locative

The locative marker / ya/ is used in Raji. See the following-

31

<i>maTa</i>	<i>siŋ</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
monkey	tree	LOC	go	PROG	realis

‘A monkey is going on the tree.’

32

<i>goRi</i>	<i>ya</i>
field	LOC

‘in the field’

33

<i>na</i>	<i>əiya ya</i>	<i>hu ŋye</i>
1SG	here-LOC	sit

‘I sit here.’

### 3.5.5 Dative (experiencer/ recipient)

Dative case denotes that the action or state identified by the verb is done for the interest of another being- animate or inanimate. Raji has borrowed compound form for dative. For instance the dative in Hindi is ‘ke liye’ which is a combination of genitive+ dative. Raji uses this combination and the marker used is ‘k<sup>h</sup>anu ~ k<sup>h</sup>ani’.

34

<i>na</i>	<i>g ə Roŋ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>anu</i>	<i>sari</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>re</i>
1SG	girlPOSS	DAT	sari	bring	CAUS	1SG	realis

‘I brought sari for my girl.’

35

<i>na</i>	<i>ija</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>anu</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>re</i>
1SG	mother	DAT	water	bring	CAUS	1SG	realis

‘I brought water for mother.’

### 3.5.6 Instrumental

The instrumental case is marked by zero in Raji.

36

<i>k ə iya</i>	<i>k ə TTo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ja -ə</i>	<i>aba ŋ</i>
knife	cut	after	consume1SG	mango

‘I have eaten mango after cutting it with knife.’

### 3.5.7 Genetive / ke ~ e /

Genetive is not a case relationship but relates a noun or nouns and a substantive. / ke / is one of the genetive case marker of Hindi. In some places Raji uses /-ke/ or /-e/ as a genetive marker in other places zero is used.. In some sentences these markers are used with demonstrative pronouns also. Consider the following-

37

<i>w<sup>h</sup>ə i</i>	<i>k əlawəti</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>hĩ</i>
that	kalawati	GEN	dog	COP
‘That is Kalawati’s dog.’				

38

<i>əi</i>	<i>punəṃ</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>nao</i>	<i>hĩ</i>
this	poonam	GEN	house	COP
‘This is Poonam’s house.’				

39

<i>ai</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>g əRo</i>	<i>dola</i>	<i>hw ā</i>
3SG	GEN	girl	bad	realis
‘Her girl is bad.’				

40

<i>gaho</i>	<i>- Ø -</i>	<i>pullya</i>
grass	Zero	bale
‘a bale of grass’		

41

<i>tallo</i>	<i>- Ø -</i>	<i>ti</i>
3SG	Zero	water
‘pond’s water’		

Raji is a dependent marking language because in the possessive noun phrases the possessor is marked. Here the copula corresponds with the head noun.

42

<i>ə i</i>	<i>phuno</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>g əRo</i>	<i>hwā</i>
this	phuno	GEN	daughter	COP
‘This is phuno’s daughter.’				

<i>əi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>goRiye</i>	<i>hĩ</i>
this	my	field	COP
‘This is my field’.			

### 3.6 Pronouns

Pronouns are free forms in this language. They function alone to fill the position of a noun phrase in a clause. There are five kinds of pronouns in Raji-

- (i) Personal
- (ii) Interrogative
- (iii) Demonstrative
- (iv) Reflexive
- (v) Indefinite

**3.6.1 Personal Pronoun-** Raji personal pronoun gives information of number. Gender is not distinguished. The third person pronoun also functions as the anaphoric pronoun. The following table presents a complete picture of Raji personal pronouns. To show the honorificity second person plural form is used instead of second person singular.

Number/ Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
I	<i>na/ ɲa</i>	<i>naji-ni-mi</i>	<i>na-ni-jəmmla</i>
II	<i>nəɲ</i>	<i>n əji-ni-mi,</i> <i>nə ni</i>	<i>nə ni-j əmmla</i> <i>n əila</i>
III	<i>əi, w<sup>h</sup>əi</i> <i>ai, w<sup>h</sup>ai</i>	<i>ə cəi -ni-mi</i>	<i>əi j əmma</i> <i>ai- jəmmla</i> <i>ak<sup>h</sup> ε jəmmla</i>

**Table- 13 Personal Pronouns**

It is clear from the above table that Ist and IInd person pronouns are same as Proto Tibeto Burman forms \* ɲa and \* naɲ. Apart from this the singular is unmarked and suffix –nimi is added for the dual. For plurals – ni and jəmmla are used in First person and second person whereas jəmmla/la are conjugated in the third person plural forms. The number agreement between the subject (pronoun) and the verb is clearly reflected in Raji as the number marker is suffixed to the verb also. For citation-

<i>n əji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup> ə tt -e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
2DU	DU	riceNATIV	consume	DU
‘You (two) eat rice.’				



45

<i>n əji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>j əhre</i>	<i>ʃya</i>	<i>re</i>
2DU	DU	laugh	PROG	realis
‘You two are laughing.’				

46

<i>n əni</i>	<i>jəhre</i>	<i>ʃya</i>	<i>re</i>
2PL	laugh	PROG	realis
‘You all are laughing.’			

In Raji dual marker / ʃi or ni/ is used with transitive verbs whereas /ʃya/ is used with intransitive verbs which reflects continuity plus duality. They are always used after the main verb form.

It must be noted that sometimes /-ʃi or ni/ are added to show respect. If the person (for whom second person pronoun is used) is elder in age to the speaker or senior in relation (like- son in law) then these markers are used with the singular forms also. For example-

47

<i>n əni-la</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ø</i>
2PL(son in water law)		consume	HON	IMP
‘You drink water.’				

48

<i>n əni-la</i>	<i>jə mmla</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup> ə tt-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ni</i>
2 PL(elder )	all	riceNATIV	consume	HONPL
‘You all eat rice.’				

49

<i>n əni-la</i>	<i>ə iya</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup> ε</i>	<i>ni</i>
you	here	ABL	go away	HONPL
You (elder) go away from here.’				

### 3.6.2 Interrogative Pronoun

According to Bhat (2004) these pronouns are used in indefinite sense because the speaker himself is incapable of identifying its referents. Raji has various types of Interrogative pronouns in which a few are borrowed terms. Some of these are used as adverbials also. These words are used to ask questions about human and nonhuman subject, object, reason etc. for examples-

50

<i>n ə ŋ</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>h ə ŋ</i>	<i>hĩ ?</i>
your	name	what	COP
‘What is your name?’			

51

<i>n ə ŋ</i>	<i>goha</i>	<i>T<sup>h</sup>ay</i>	<i>re ?</i>
your	where	live	realis

‘Where do you live?’

52

<i>n ə ŋ</i>	<i>nao</i>	<i>kino</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ri ?</i>
your	home	when	go	irrealis

‘When will you go home?’

53

<i>ə i</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>hī ?</i>
he	who	COP

‘Who is he?’

54

<i>de</i>	<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ε</i>	<i>rupp əiya</i>	<i>d<sup>h</sup>ā</i>	<i>re ?</i>
today	you	how much	rupees	receive	realis

‘How much money have you received today?’

55

<i>n ə ŋ</i>	<i>d əddya</i>	<i>hī ?</i>
your	brother	COP

‘Is (he) your elder brother?’

In the above sentence question word is absent but intonation plays an important role and gives it a question form.

### 3.6.3 Reflexive Pronoun

Rajis have started using borrowed term for reflexive pronoun which is placed after the subject and before the object. Such as-

56

<i>ə i</i>	<i>p ən</i>	<i>nao -e</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
he	REF	homeNATIV	go	PROG	realis

‘He is going to house himself.’

57

<i>n əni-la</i>	<i>p ən</i>	<i>jako</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>re</i>
2Pl	REF	food	eat	Pl	realis

‘You (pl) are eating food yourself.’

### 3.6.4 Demonstrative Pronouns

Third person personal pronouns are used as demonstrative in Raji. They can be divided into two groups- Proximate and Nonproximate. Both of them are marked for number.

- (i) **Proximate**    /w<sup>h</sup>əi/, /əi/            this  
                          /əi-la/                    these  
                          /əiya/                    here

58

<i>əi</i>	<i>iskuli-ye</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup>ε</i>	<i>geda-la</i>	<i>p əRe</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>re</i>
Prox	school-Loc	how many	child-Pl	study	PL	realis

‘How many students study in this school?’

59

<i>əi-la</i>	<i>R əjbar</i>	<i>- ə</i>	<i>hĩ</i>
Prox-Pl	Rajis	1SG	COP

‘These are Rajis.’

- (ii) **Nonproximate** / w<sup>h</sup>ai/, /ai/            that  
                          / w<sup>h</sup>ai-la/, /aiya/. /aila /    these

60

<i>w<sup>h</sup>ai</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nao</i>	<i>- ə</i>	<i>re</i>
Nonprox	my	house	1SG	realis

‘That is my house.’

61

<i>w<sup>h</sup>əi -la</i>	<i>j əmma</i>	<i>iʃe</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
nonprox-PL	all	sleep	DU

Those all slept.’

When the object is visible to the speaker / əiya/ is used and if he is not able to see it then / əiTā/ is used, see the following-

62

<i>əiya</i>	<i>g əŋ</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>hwā</i>
Prox	river	NATIV	COP

‘Here/ This is a river.’

63

<i>əiTā</i>	<i>D əRa</i>	<i>hwā</i>
Prox	mountain	COP

‘There/ that is a mountain.’

### 3.6.5 Indefinite Pronoun

It seems that all the indefinite pronouns are borrowed from Kumauni and have been modified according to the Raji Phonology. For citation-

64

<i>hũnu</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
someone	come	PROG	realis
‘Someone is coming.’			

65

<i>n əni</i>	<i>keji</i>	<i>bhuliya</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
2DU	something	forget	2DU
‘You have forgotten something.’			

66

<i>nəni</i>	<i>w<sup>h</sup>hu</i>	<i>hanu</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
2DU	someone	beat	2DU
‘Someone has beaten you.’			

### 3.7 Numerals<sup>25</sup>

Raji has original numerals upto six which is a very common Tibeto- Burman characteristic. Raji numerals precede the noun and are always found in the same shape.

English	Raji
One	<i>da~Da</i>
Two	<i>ni~n<sup>h</sup></i>
Three	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u ŋ</i>
Four	<i>paRi</i>
Five	<i>pŋa</i>
Six	<i>turko</i>

**Table- 14 Cardinal numerals**

For additives, ordinals, multiplicatives and fractionals either they use loan terms or coined a term with the help of Raji and Hindi word such as Da bar means ‘once’. Here first word is a Raji term and the second word is from Hindi language.

<sup>25</sup> According to D. D. Sharma (1994) Raji numerals from eleven onwards are formed ‘by combining the term for the numeral to be deducted from twenty and the term for deduction (ex-əTT<sup>h</sup> *kəm bihəi*) like Munda it (Raji) follows the vigesimal system of counting.’ I have not found this feature in any Raji hamlet. Presently after six they use Kumauni / Hindi numerals with little or no phonetic change.

### 3.7.1 Ordinals

English	Raji
First	<i>ginta</i>
Second	<i>dohəro</i>
Third	<i>k<sup>h</sup>u</i>
Fourth	<i>cautha</i>
Fifth	<i>pɪ a</i>
Sixth	<i>c<sup>h</sup>əT<sup>h</sup>a</i>
Seventh	<i>satə</i>
Eighth	<i>aT<sup>h</sup>a</i>
Ninth	<i>nauo</i>
Tenth	<i>desa</i>

**Table-15 Ordinal numerals**

In this table accept the first and third all other terms are loan words. Only two terms take the suffix /-o / and rest of the words have /-a / ending.

### 3.7.2 Addetives

These are made by adding an independent word / p<sup>h</sup>era/ to the cardinal numbers. Some people also use / bar/. Both the terms are borrowed from Kumauni. For example-

Once	<i>Da bar / Da p<sup>h</sup>era</i>
Twice	<i>ni p<sup>h</sup>era</i>
Thrice	<i>k<sup>h</sup>uɪ p<sup>h</sup>era</i>

### 3.7.3 Multiplicatives

Rajis use hybrid terms in this category. Usually the first part belongs to Raji and the second term is from Hindi. The following terms mean ‘one part, two parts and three parts.’

*Da b<sup>h</sup>ag*

*ni b<sup>h</sup>ag*

*k<sup>h</sup>uɪ b<sup>h</sup>ag*

### 3.7.4 Fractionals

All the Raji fractionals are loan terms.

One fourth	<i>pau</i>
Half	<i>ədd<sup>h</sup>a</i>
Full	<i>pura</i>
One and one fourth	<i>səwa</i>

### 3.8 Adjectives

Adjectives are modifier of their head nouns so they depend on them. Languages presents two possibilities- either adjectives agree with the noun they modify in gender, number or person or they stay invariant. Raji comes in the latter group. It has limited number of morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives and they can be divided into age, dimension, value, physical property, taste, quantifier and colours. Many Raji adjectives are borrowed forms. Consider the following examples-

Properties	Raji
Age	<i>buDa</i> -old, <i>nəwa</i> - new
Dimension	<i>bəina</i> -big, <i>itu</i> [ya]-small, <i>lay</i> -long, <i>urggo</i> -high
Value	<i>Dolau</i> -bad, <i>nikko</i> -good, <i>kap<sup>h</sup>uli</i> -beautiful, <i>huu</i> -rotten
Physical property	<i>T<sup>h</sup>ənDa</i> -cold, <i>g<sup>h</sup>uno</i> -hot
Taste	<i>kəRu</i> -hot, <i>T<sup>h</sup>u</i> -sweet, <i>k<sup>h</sup>əTTa</i> -sour
Quantifier	<i>itud</i> -some, <i>j<sup>h</sup>kkəl</i> -all
Colour <sup>26</sup>	<i>toknəha</i> -black, <i>tulhəria</i> -red, <i>həriyo</i> -green, <i>pero</i> -yellow, <i>d<sup>h</sup>auri</i> -white

#### Table-16 Adjectives

In Raji adjectives precede the nouns whether they are part of subject or predicate. Such as- *g<sup>h</sup>uno jako*- hot food, *bəina nao*- big house. They are used as compliments also. For citation-  
67

<i>janəki</i>	<i>kap<sup>h</sup>uli</i>	<i>hw ā</i>
Janaki	beautiful	COP
‘Janaki is beautiful.’		

68

<i>devsingh</i>	<i>buDa</i>	<i>hw ā</i>
Devsingh	old	COP

‘Devsingh is old.’

It has been mentioned earlier in this book that this language employs two independent words /*j<sup>h</sup>kk*/ and /*jəmma*/ to show plurality. These same forms are also used to make comparative degree. Such as-

*bəina pəya*- big boy

<sup>26</sup> Raji basically has five colour terms in which two are original and rest are loan terms. In general the fewer colour terms are in a lexicon, the more hues each term has to cover. Berlin and Kay (1969) proposed that there is a natural hierarchy of colour terms, so that if a language has two terms they should be light and dark, if three, dark, light and red and so on.

*jəmma w<sup>h</sup>əi bəina pəya-* biggest boy

*c<sup>h</sup>uice geda-* small child

*jəmma w<sup>h</sup>əi c<sup>h</sup>uice geda-* smallest child

69

<i>pəhaRe</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>gəDDe</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>jəmma</i>	<i>T<sup>h</sup>ənDa</i>	<i>hw ā</i>
mountain	water	river	water	more	cold	COP

‘Mountain water is colder than river water.’

### 3.9 Adverbs

Every language does not exhibit all the classes of words. I have not found adverb class in Raji data except a few independent words- hədiyari-always, həjjo –slowly and hərbe- fastly.

70

<i>nəni</i>	<i>hədiyari</i>	<i>Jauljibi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>re</i>
we	daily	Jauljibi	come	Pl	realis

We daily / always come to Jauljibi.’

.....

## Chapter-4

### 4.0 Verb Morphology

The verb is considered the most important element in sentence structure. It not only governs all the grammatical elements but also determines the semantic and syntactic nature of the sentence. It has more grammatical categories than any other class of words. It gives all the relevant information regarding the (a) participants of an event, (b) the location of an event on a linear time scale, (c) the temporal structure of an event, (d) the actuality of an event and (e) evidentiality of an event (Abbi:2001).

### 4.1 Tense System

Earlier linguists have tried to establish that **Raji** conjugations are used for the purpose of distinguishing present, past and future tense (Sharma: 1990; Krishnan: 2001). In my opinion the verbal categories of this language are organized differently and they lack any category of tense in the strict sense. **Raji** verbs can be divided into two groups- realis and irrealis. The realis<sup>27</sup> particle / **re** / and / **ϕ** / are used in the sentences that have present or past time reference. It is important to note that **Raji** realis particle / **re** / does not say anything about the time period occupied by the event, its initiation or termination, but simply implies that the event does happen. For citation-

71

*miT<sup>h</sup>ai ja ha re d<sup>h</sup>armu*  
sweet consume PROG realis dharmu

‘Dharmu is eating sweets.’

72

*diho ratte bi ha re*  
sun morning come PROG realis

‘It is morning.’

73

*nani hədiyari Jauljibi bi -i re*  
2DU daily Jauljibi come PL realis

‘We (two) daily come to Jauljibi.’

---

<sup>27</sup> According to Comrie ‘...realis refer to situations that have actually taken place or are actually taking place...’



In the above example the use of temporal adverb ‘*hədiyari*’ has made time value more specific.

74

*ba g<sup>h</sup>uno jako ja ha re*  
father hot food consume PROG realis

‘Father is eating hot food.’

75

*na -i b<sup>h</sup>ətt-e ja -ə*  
1SG ERG riceNATIV consume 1SG

‘I ate rice.’

76

*nəŋ -i b<sup>h</sup>ətt -e ji ja*  
2SG ERG rice NATIV HAB consume

‘(He) went to Pithoragarh Yesterday.’

77

*Tuknəha bəkkə fiy*  
black goat die  
‘The black goat died.’

In Raji *byar* word is used for ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ both. Here the past time meaning is indicated by contextual reference. In the last three examples realis is unmarked.

In the irrealis group only one particle / *ri~Ri* / is used which comes at the end of the construction and clearly denotes future time reference.<sup>28</sup> Consider the following-

78

*na b<sup>h</sup>ətt -e ji ja ri*  
1SG rice NATIV HAB consume irrealis  
‘I will eat cooked rice’

79

*nani bora ji ja -i ri*  
3PL fish HAB consume pl irrealis

---

<sup>28</sup> In Comrie’s opinion “...irrealis is used for more hypothetical situations, including situations that represent inductive generalizations, and also predictions... about the future.”

‘We all will eat fish.’

80

*kalli na nao ga -ə Ri*  
tomorrow 1SG village go 1SG irrealis  
‘I will go to the village tomorrow.’

81

*gaRo -la gittə laike ri*  
girl Pl song sing irrealis  
‘The girls will sing a song.’

## 4.2 Copular verbs and their predicates

Semantically copular clauses represent permanent or temporary states. Their subject occupies the semantic role of either a patient or a dative of state and most of the lexical–semantic load of the predication is not carried by copular verb itself, but rather by an adjective, a noun or an adjectival phrase. See the following-

### (i) Nominal (NP) Predicate

*əi na gaRo h ĩ*  
3SG my daughter COP

### (ii) Adjectival (AP) Predicate

*kəlawəti nikko hwā*  
Kalawati good COP

Two copula (linking) verbs / *hwā* / and / *hĩ* / are also used in Raji. They act as the link between the subject and the complement. / *hĩ* / is used in equative clauses whereas / *hwā* / is used in attributive and locative. Sometimes the copula and the verb forms both are used by the speakers. Consider the following-

82

*Diwan sing nikko hwā*  
DiwanSingh good COP  
‘DiwanSingh is a good man.’

83

*ai kəlawəti ke kui hwā*  
3SG kalawati GEN dog COP  
‘This is Kalawati’s dog.’

84

*ai mənɕ<sup>h</sup>wa cətur hwã*

3SG man clever COP

‘That man is clever.’

85

*Da mənɕ<sup>h</sup>wa nao -ya hwã*

one man house LOC COP

‘The man is at home.’

86

*nao ya Da bəkka hwã*

house LOC one goat COP

‘The goat is in the house’

87

*masi ug<sup>h</sup> ya hwã*

porcupine cave LOC COP

‘The porcupine is in the cave.’

88

*ai ke gaRo hĩ*

3SG GEN daughter COP

‘(This) is her daughter.’

89

*ai mənɕ<sup>h</sup>wa hĩ*

3SG daughter COP

‘That is a man.’

90

*na name p<sup>h</sup>una hĩ*

1SG name Phunaa COP

‘My name is Phunaa.’

### 4.3 Aspect

Aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states.<sup>29</sup> The different aspects found in Raji are as follows-

#### 4.3.1 Imperfective

In imperfective the situation is viewed from inside as an ongoing process. There are two sub types- Progressive and Habitual.

##### 4.3.1.1 Progressive

It indicates that the action is incomplete, in progress or developing. A progressive or continuous form emphasizes on the duration or frequency of an action. The continuous aspect construes an event or activity as incomplete, ongoing and without temporal boundary (Comrie : 1976).

The progressive marker /*hã* / is used with 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. It always follows the main verb and the plural marker /*i* / and the realis marker comes after it. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns employ all together different progressive marker /*fya*/. Consider the following –

91

*na ija k 'anu/ k 'ani ti bi -te ha re*  
1SG mother ABL water bring CAUS PROG realis  
'I am bringing water for mother.'

92

*aiya rake hã -i re*  
3PL fight PROG PL realis  
'They are fighting.'

93

*nəŋ bəjar -ye həŋ ga fya re*  
2SG market LOC why go PROG realis  
'Why are you going to the market?'

94

*nəŋ həŋ jəhɹe -ko fya re*  
2SG why laugh PROG realis  
'Why are you laughing?'

---

<sup>29</sup> According to Crystal (1994:24) "aspect is grammatical category which marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb. It indicates whether the action of the verb is beginning, end in progress, instantaneous, or repeated."

95

*nəni la jəhʔre ʃya -i re*  
 2PL PL laugh PROG PL realis

‘Why are all of you laughing?’

96

*na byare b hʔatt-e ja ha-ə re*  
 1SG yesterday riceNATIV consume PROG1SG realis  
 ‘I was eating rice yesterday.’

#### 4.3.1.2 Habitual

Habitual expresses the general truth and it does not refer to any specific events. It does not imply that an instance of the event is taking place now. (Payne:1997) In Raji it is represented by –ji, zero and some lexical items.

97

*əi hər sənɪcr-e nao-ya ka re*  
 3SG every saturdayNATIV house- LOC go realis  
 ‘He goes to his home every Saturday.’

98

*na hədiyari iskuli-y-e ga re*  
 1SG daily School go realis  
 NATIV  
 ‘I daily go to school.’

99

*nani bora ji ja -i ri*  
 3PL fish HAB consume PL irrealis  
 ‘We all will eat fish.’

#### 4.3.2 Perfective

In perfective aspect the situation is viewed in its entirety, independent of tense (Payne1997). It presents the events as single, unanalyzable whole ignoring the stages which make up that event. In Raji language /re/ also acts as perfective marker and indicates that the action is completed.

100

*na jako ja -ə re*

1SG food consume 1SGPERF  
'I have eaten food.'

101

*əi jako ja re*  
3SG food consume PERF  
'He has eaten food.'

102

*na iskool-ye ga-a re*  
1SG school-LOC go 1SG PERF  
'I had gone to school.'

### 4.3.3 Durative Aspect

The durative aspect marker is/-be/For example-

103

*na jako ja be šanti pie*  
1SG food consume DUR shanti come  
'I saw shanti eating food.'

104

*nəŋ na -i bəjar-ya g<sup>h</sup>umyo be ji milwa*  
2SG 1SG ERG market-LOC wander DUR HAB find  
'I found you wandering in the market.'

## 4.4 Mood

Mood indicates what the speaker is doing with a proposition in a particular discourse situation. Traditionally determined **declarative**, **interrogative** and **imperative** moods are found in this language. Often it is argued that mood is determined not just by the verb but by the type of sentence in which it appears, by this argument Raji has a few more moods.

**4.4.1 Declarative** mood is not marked in this language, such as-

105

*əi na nao hĩ*  
this my house COP  
'This is my house.'

106

<b><i>m h̥</i></b>	<b><i>loŋ</i></b>	<b><i>ha</i></b>	<b><i>re</i></b>
fire	burn	PROG	realis

'The fire is burning.'

107

<b><i>diho</i></b>	<b><i>purab</i></b>	<b><i>baTai toŋ</i></b>	<b><i>ha</i></b>	<b><i>re</i></b>
sun	east	rise	PROG	realis

'The sun rises from the east.'

This is an old expression now a days people usually say '*diho purab bi ha re*'  
(The Sun is coming from the east)

108

<b><i>gaŋe</i></b>	<b><i>bagyo</i></b>	<b><i>ha</i></b>	<b><i>re</i></b>
river	flow	PROG	realis

'The river always flows.'

109

<b><i>DāDa</i></b>	<b><i>p h̥yō</i></b>	<b><i>hwā</i></b>
mountain	stand	COP

peak

'The mountain always stands.'

**4.4.2 Imperative** mood is also unmarked and the number markers are inflected in the verb. Consider the following-

110

<b><i>na</i></b>	<b><i>tī</i></b>	<b><i>b ε</i></b>
Me	water	give

'Give me water.'

111

<b><i>di ŋ o</i></b>	<b><i>whoi</i></b>	<b><i>-ko</i></b>
bull	tie	

'Tie that bull.'

112

<b><i>ta</i></b>	<b><i>t h̥au</i></b>	<b><i>-ke</i></b>
not	run	

'Do not run.'

#### 4.4.3 Interrogative

The commonly used **interrogative** marker is / *haŋ* /. It is used in the beginning of the construction. For example-

113

*ha ŋ nani ji haha*  
what you feel shy  
'Are you feeling shy?'

114

*ha ŋ jako ja ri*  
what food consume irrealis  
'What food will you eat?'

115

*ha ŋ jako ja fi*  
what food consume dual marker  
'What did both of you eat?'

'Do not go deep inside.'

#### 4.4.4 Hortative

In Raji /je/ is used to form hortative mood and it is often used with first person inclusive reference. The following are the examples-

116

*je nani bajar -e rugga -i re*  
HOR 1PL market NATIV go PL realis  
'Let's (all) go to the market.'

117

*je nani goRi -ya g<sup>h</sup>og<sup>h</sup>a paRi -i re*  
HOR 1PL field LOC maize sow PL realis  
'Let's (all) sow maize in the field.'



118

*je-ni        naji   nimi   b<sup>h</sup>ətt-e        ja        ji        na*

HOR-DU   1DU   DU   riceNATIV   consume   HAB   1DU

‘Let’s (two) eat rice.’

#### 4.4.5 Subjective (Conditional) mood

It marks a range of attitudes including uncertainty, vagueness and tentativeness. Raji expresses this mood with the help of Indo-Aryan loan words /əgər/ and /to/. See the following-

119

*əgər   nə   ŋ   na   ləgya   ha   bi   ri        to        na   kaRe   ri*

if        2SG   1SG   bread   NEG   give   irrealis   COND   1SG   cry   irrealis

‘If you will not give me bread then I will cry.’

120

*əgər   ti        pi        Ri        to        gəRa   k<sup>h</sup>ani   nikko   hi   ri*

if        water   come   irrealis   COND   rice   ABL   good   be   irrealis

‘If it will rain then it will be good for rice.’

121

*əgər   na        ruppaīya   d<sup>h</sup>ari   ri        to        na        lətta   k<sup>h</sup>əridiyo   ri*

if        1SG   rupee   get   irrealis   COND   1SG   cloth   buy   irrealis

‘If I will get money then I will buy clothes.’

#### 4.4.6 Probability

Raji employs loan lexeme ‘*k<sup>h</sup>yal-e*’ to express probability. For example-

122

*əi   na        k<sup>h</sup>yal-e        kimk<sup>h</sup>ola   ga   ha        re*

if        1SG   PROB-NATIV   Kimkhola   go   PROG   realis

‘Probably he is going to Kimkhola.’

123

*əi na k<sup>h</sup>yal-e gaRa paRi ha re*

if 1SG PROB-NATIV rice sow PROG realis

‘He might sow rice.’

#### 4.4.7 Ability

Raji uses two lexemes / *həkko*/ and / *ʃəkko*/ to show the agents physical or mental capability to do the action. These are morphologically conditioned. / *ʃəkko*/ is used with second person and in remaining sentences / *həkko*/ is used. Consider the following-

124

*nə ŋ ʃiŋ -ya ga ʃə kko re*

1SG tree LOC climb can realis

‘I can climb up the tree.’

125

*ram k<sup>h</sup>uTkuni p<sup>h</sup>yō h ə kko re*

Ram stairs climb can realis

‘Ram can climb up the stairs.’

126

*na l ə gya pakao h ə kko re*

1SG bread cook can realis

‘I can cook bread.’

#### 4.5 Modality

##### 4.5.1 Epistemic modality

It deals with the degree of possibility, probability and certainty. Raji uses Hindi loan for this modality.

127

*nə ŋ əiya jərur ji ga Ri*

2SG there certainty HAB go irrealis

‘You will certainly go there.’

128

*əi jərur paDo Ri*

3SG certainty study irrealis

‘s/he will certainly study.’

#### 4.5.2 Deontic modality

Semantic contrast relating to obligations or permission on the part of the agent are said to involve deontic modality (Kroeger). Consider the following Raji sentence-

129

*əgər nəŋ nikko ləgwa te nəŋ əji ləi g<sup>h</sup><sub>ε</sub> ʃə kko re*

if 2SG good feel then 2SG and also do can realis

‘If you like you can do more.’

#### 4.5.3 Sequential and Simultaneous

The process of reduplication is used to show sequentiality. For example-

130

*əi ləgya jaja rukka*

3SG bread eat ko

‘While eating bread he went.’

131

*w<sup>h</sup><sub>əi</sub> loTəi loTəi uk<sup>h</sup><sub>ə</sub>lao pie*

3SG lie vomit come

‘He vomited while lying.’

#### 4.6 Negation

There are two **negative** markers in *Raji* - / *hã* / and / *ta* /. The first one is a simple negative marker whereas the second is especially used in prohibitive sense and can be called imperative negation. Consider the following-

132

*əi nao hã ga*  
s/he house NEG go  
'He didn't go to the house.'

133

*na bəjar -ye hã ga*  
I market LOC NEG go  
'I do not go to the market.'

134

*janəki pən b ε ni ta hanu*  
Janaki POSS sister NEG beat  
'Janaki do not beat your sister.'

135

*b<sup>h</sup>ʌRi j<sup>h</sup>kkə ta g<sup>h</sup>ε*  
inside deep NEG go  
'Do not go deep inside.'

#### 4.7 Causativization

In Raji three types of causative constructions are found-

- (i) Lexical causatives
- (ii) Morphological causatives
- (iii) Periphrastic causatives

Most languages have some lexical causatives. Here the notion of cause is wrapped up in the verb itself. It is not expressed by any additional operator (Payne 2007). There are three subtypes of lexical causatives-

- No change in verb
- Some idiosyncratic change in verb
- altogether different verb

The third group is found in Raji. For example-

136

<i>bora</i>	<i>fiy</i>
fish	died

‘The fish died.’

137

<i>ði</i>	<i>bora</i>	<i>hata</i>
he	fish	killed

‘He killed a fish.’

138

<i>mhe</i>	<i>luy</i>
fire	burnt

‘The fire burnt.’

139

<i>ija</i>	<i>mhe</i>	<i>mutya</i>	<i>re</i>
mother	fire	burnt	realis

‘Mother lit the fire.’

Morphological causativization in Raji is productive and can be formed by affixation. Two types of morphological causatives are found in Raji.

In the following examples causative marker *-te ~ -ta* is suffixed to the verb. Consider the following examples-

140

<i>ti</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
water	come	PROG	realis

‘It is raining.’

141

<i>ija</i>	<i>gedal</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>bi-te~ta</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
mother	child	water	bring- CAUS	PROG	realis

‘The mother is bringing water for the child.’

142

<i>āguliya</i>	<i>kaTi</i>	<i>gəwa</i>	<i>kəiya</i>
finger	cut	PST	knife

‘I have cut my finger.’

143

<i>ja</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>kaTTo</i>	<i>te~ta</i>	<i>əbəŋ</i>	<i>kəiya</i>
consume	PROG	realis	cut	CAUS	mango	knife

‘I am eating mango after making it cut with the knife.’

According to Bendict 1972:97), the suffix \*-t functions as causative or directive. This PTB suffix\*-t functions as causativizer in Raji also as is clear from the above example.

The second type of morphological causative in Raji is made after devoicing the initial sound of intransitive verb roots. According to Bendict (1972:104), the prefix\*s- is reflected in aspiration or unvoicing of initials. In these causatives the initials of intransitive verb roots are devoiced. The reason behind devoicing of the initials is the prefix\*s- is attached to verb roots and due to the progressive assimilation it extends its voiceless feature to the initials of the base and it is normally dropped without trace. It must be noted that \*s- functions as causative, directive or intensive with verb roots (Bendict1972).

Consider the following examples-

144

<i>giləya</i>	<i>gaRe</i>	<i>ku</i>
glass	broke	

‘The glass broke down.’

145

<i>na -i</i>	<i>giləya-e</i>	<i>kaReiya</i>	<i>-ə</i>
1SG ERG	glassNATIV	broke CAUS	1SG

‘I broke the glass.’

146

<i>ai</i>	<i>j<sup>h</sup>ikkəl</i>	<i>kəT<sup>h</sup>əŋ</i>	<i>galte</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
3SG	a lot	wood	sell	PROG	realis

‘s/he was selling much wood.’

147

<i>byar</i>	<i>nani</i>	<i>j<sup>h</sup>ikkəl</i>	<i>kəT<sup>h</sup>əŋ</i>	<i>kalte</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
yesterday	we(two)	a lot	wood	sell	PROG	realis
				CAUS		

‘Yesterday a lot of wood was sold by us.’

Another common process of causative constructions in Raji is by the use of periphrastic causatives. In this case a vector using causative meaning comes before the infinitive form of a main verb. Raji uses *ha~pa* which means ‘to cause’. For citation-

148

<i>geda</i>	<i>lhu</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
child	bath	PROG	realis

‘The child is taking bath.’

149

<i>ija</i>	<i>geda</i>	<i>halhu</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
mother	child	bath	PROG	realis
		CAUS		

‘The mother is bathing the child.’

150

<i>gedəl</i>	<i>dud<sup>həŋ</sup></i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
child	milk	consume	PROG	realis

‘The child is drinking milk.’

151

<i>ija</i>	<i>gedəl</i>	<i>dud<sup>həŋ</sup></i>	<i>haiTe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
mother	child	milk	made drink	PROG	realis

‘The mother made the child drink milk.’

152

<i>gedal</i>	<i>iʃe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
child	sleep	PROG	realis

‘The child is sleeping.’

153

<i>diddya</i>	<i>gedəl</i>	<i>pa-iʃe</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>re</i>
elder sister	child	make sleep	PROG	PRES

‘The elder sister makes the child sleep.’

154

*na jəhre*  
 1SG laughed  
 ‘I laughed.’

155

*na -i bubə-la hajəhre fi*  
 1SG ERG fatherinlaw CAUS DU  
 HON laugh  
 ‘Father- in- law made me laugh.’

In some cases suffix /-wa/ is added to make causative constructions. This is borrowed from Hindi and mainly used in intransitive borrowed verb forms. See the following-

156

*na b ʰwāi girikya*  
 1SG brother fell down  
 ‘My brother fell down.’

157

*na -i b ʰwāi-e giriku-wa*  
 1SG ERG brother felldownCAUS  
 ‘I caused brother to fall.’

158

*nəŋ nəcco*  $\Phi$   
 2SG dance IMP  
 ‘You dance.’

159

*nəŋ b ʰwāi-e nəcc-u-wa*  $\Phi$   
 2SG brother-NATIV danceCAUS IMP  
 ‘You make the brother dance.’



Not only this /-wa/ suffix is sometimes conjugated with Raji verb forms also. Consider the following-

160

*ʃiŋ*            *D<sup>h</sup>au-e*  
tree            fell down  
'The tree fell down.'

161

*diwane*            *ʃiŋ*            *ha*            *D<sup>h</sup>au-u-wa*  
Diwan Singh    tree            CAUS            fell CAUS  
'Diwan Singh made the tree fall.'

162

*bu ʃəT*    *gənda*            *hĩ-e*  
shirt            dirty            be  
'The shirt became dirty.'

163

*na*            *pəya*            *-i*            *bu ʃəT*            *gənda*            *k<sup>h</sup>ai-wa*  
my            son            ERG            shirt            dirty            made it  
'My son made the shirt dirty.'

It is to be noted that in the example no. 161 the vector/ha/ as well as the suffix/ wa/ both are used to make a causative construction.

Apart from above rules a very interesting phenomena is found in Raji. In few causative constructions a word 'hətaRi' is also used after the causer. It is a loan term meaning 'by hand' and is usually used in place of double causatives. Consider the following-

164

*ija*            *-i*            *kəlawəti*            *-e*            *geda*            *hətaRi*            *ha-i-te-ha*  
mother            ERG            Kalawati            NATIV            child            by hand            made him  
eat

'The mother asked Kalawati to feed the child.'

165

<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>pəya</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>hətaRi</i>	<i>ʃiŋ</i>	<i>kəTT-wa</i>
1SG	ERG	child	NATIV	by hand	tree	made cut

‘I asked the child to cut the tree.’

#### 4.8 Pronominalization

In some languages the head of the sentence or phrase again uses the whole or a part of the phonetic form of already used pronoun. This process is known as Pronominalization. According to Grierson and Konow (1909) it refers to the use of pronominal suffixes for indicating the person and number of the subject and sometimes of object also. Pronominalization can take place in two ways –

- i Nominal
- ii Verbal

In the former type short forms of personal pronouns are added as prefixes before a governing noun in order to repeat the governed genitive where as in the latter type full or part constituent of the pronoun is affixed in the verb itself. It is important to mention that though it is a widely practised characteristic of Tibeto-Burman languages yet it varies in degree.

Raji is a complex pronominalized language where contracted form of the subject pronoun or occasionally the object is added to the verb.<sup>30</sup> The verbal paradigm of Raji is characterized by agreement with speech act participants and number, person agreement with the subject in intransitive verb and with the subject and object in transitive verb. Thus if the object of the sentence is a first person pronoun then the agreement is with the object but if the object is third person then agreement is with the subject of the sentence. Consider the following examples-

166

<i>nəji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>kəRe</i>	<i>ʃya</i>	<i>re</i>
2DU	2	cry	2DU	realis

‘You ( two) cry.’

167

<i>əcəi</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bu ʃəT</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>-ə</i>
3	DU	1SG	shirt	give	1SG

‘They (two) gave shirt to me.’

<sup>30</sup> According to Sharma, D.D. (1997:382)...unlike other Himalayan tongues the pronominal subject are neither contracted nor represented by consonantal signs like-g,-n,-c etc as we find them in other speeches. They rather retain their original pronominal bases.’

168

<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>buʃəT</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>-ə</i>
1SG	ERG	3SG	shirt	give	1SG

‘I gave shirt to him.’

However, in few sentences the third person agrees with the verb. See the following-

170

<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>jəmmala</i>	<i>buʃəT-e</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
1SG	ERG	3	PL	shirtNATIV	give	DU

‘I gave shirt to them.’

171

<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>əcəi</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>buʃəT</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
1SG	ERG	3	DU	shirt	NATIV	give	DU

‘I gave shirt to them (two).’

Apart from the above a finite verb can register the grammatical feature of referents in Raji. In the following examples contracted forms of first person pronouns and their number are suffixed to the verbs.

172

<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>b hət</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>-ə</i>
1SG	ERG	rice	NATIV	consume	1SG

‘I eat rice.’

173

<i>naji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>b hət</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>jija</i>	<i>ji</i>
1DU	DU	rice	NATIV	finished	1DU

‘We two finished rice.’

174

<i>nanila</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>jəmma</i>	<i>b hət</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>jija</i>	<i>ni</i>
1PL	NATIV	PL	rice	NATIV	finished	PL

‘We all finished rice.’

It is clear from the earlier description of Raji personal pronouns that the singular is an unmarked category. The dual marker /-ji/ is added in both first and second persons whereas /nimi/ is the dual marker used in all the three persons to show plurality. There are three plural markers /ni,-la and jəmma /, the first one is used with the first and second person pronouns whereas /-la and jəmma / are used with all of them. Raji verbs fall into two major categories- transitive and intransitive. The conjugation of the pronominal suffix also depend on it. Consider the following-

**a). First person singular – (na)**

**Transitive**

175

<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>b hət</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>-ə</i>
1SG	ERG	rice	NATIV	consume	1SG
‘I eat rice.’					

**Intransitive**

176

<i>na</i>	<i>jəhre</i>
1SG	laugh
‘I laugh.’	

**b). First Person dual - (naji)**

**Transitive**

177

<i>naji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>nao</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>rugga</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>re</i>
1DU	DU	home	LOC	go	PL	realis
‘We (two) go home.’						

**Intransitive**

178

<i>naji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>jəhre</i>	<i>ji</i>
1SG	DU	laugh	DU
‘WE (two) laugh.’			

**c). First Person Plural – (nani jəmmla)**

**Transitive**

179

<i>nani</i>	<i>jəmm</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>nao</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>rugga</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>re</i>
1PL	PL	PL	home	LOC	go	PL	realis

‘We all go home.’

**Intransitive**

180

<i>nani</i>	<i>jəmm</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>cəhre</i>	<i>fi</i>
1PL	PL	PL	home	PL

‘We all laughed.’

**d). Second Person Singular ( *nəŋ* )****Transitive**

181

<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>b hətt</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>
2SG	rice	NATIV	consume

‘You eat rice.’

**Intransitive**

182

<i>nəŋ</i>	<i>jəhre</i>
2SG	laugh

‘You laughed.’

**e). Second Person Dual ( *naji nimi* )****Transitive**

183

<i>naji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>b hətt</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>fi</i>
2DU	DU	rice	NATIV	consume	DU

‘You (two) eat rice.’

**Intransitive**

184

<i>naji</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>jəhre</i>	<i>fyə</i>	<i>re</i>
2DU	DU	laugh	PROGDU	realis

‘You (two) laugh.’

**f). Second Person Plural- (*nənila/nəni jəmma*)**

**Transitive**

185

<i>nəni</i>	<i>jəmma</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ətt</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ni</i>
2PL	Pl	PL	rice	NATIV	consume	PL
‘You (all) eat rice.’						

**Intransitive**

186

<i>nəni</i>	<i>jəmma</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>jəhre</i>	<i>ʃya</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>re</i>
2Pl	Pl	PL	laugh	PROG	PL	realis
‘You (all) laugh.’						

**g). Third Person Singular (*əi*)**

**Transitive**

187

<i>əi</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ətt</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>re</i>
3SG	rice	NATIV	consume	realis
‘He eats rice.’				

**Intransitive**

188

<i>əi</i>	<i>cəhre</i>
2SG	rice
‘He laughs.’	

**i). Third Person dual (*əcəi nimi*)**

**Transitive**

189

<i>əcəi</i>	<i>nimi</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>ətt</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ʃi</i>
3DU	DU	rice	NATIV	consume	DU
‘They (two) eat rice.’					

**Intransitive**

190

*əcəi*      *nimi*      *cəhre*      *ji*  
 3DU      DU      laugh      DU  
 ‘They (two) laugh.’

**j). Third Person Plural (*əi jamma*)**

**Transitive**

191

*əi*      *jamma*      *-la*      *b<sup>h</sup>ətt*      *-e*      *ja*      *-i*      *re*  
 3PL      all      PL      rice      NATIV      consume      PL      realis  
 ‘They eat rice.’

**Intransitive**

192

*əi*      *jamma*      *-la*      *cəhre*      *fi*  
 2Pl      Pl      PL      laugh      PL  
 ‘They laugh.’

On the basis of above description following table can be presented to show the main patterns of Pronominalization in Raji language.

Person/ Number	Singular	Dual	Plural
First Transitive	P----V- <i>ə</i>	P----V- <i>i</i>	P----V- <i>i</i>
Intransitive	P----V- $\Phi$	P----V- <i>ji</i>	P----V- <i>fi</i>
Second Transitive	P----V- $\Phi$	P----V- <i>fi</i>	P----V- <i>ni</i>
Intransitive	P----V- $\Phi$	P----V- <i>fya</i>	P----V- <i>fya-i</i>
Third Transitive	P----V- $\Phi$	P----V- <i>fi</i>	P----V- <i>i</i>
Intransitive	P----V- $\Phi$	P----V- <i>ji</i>	P----V- <i>fi</i>

**Table - 17 Patterns of Pronominalization**

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## Chapter-5

### 5.0 Syntax

#### 5.1. Simple Sentences

Raji simple sentences have a single independent clause that has two obligatory constituents- noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP). For example-

193

*əbəŋ ja ha kəlawəti*

mango eat PROG name

NP VP

‘Kalawati is eating mango.’

In the simplest form of sentence the verb form is in imperative and the noun phrase is not uttered. Such as-

194

*bi!*

come

‘You come.’

The NP of a simple sentence can either be a single noun or a phrase. For citation-

195

*gəRoŋ bi ha re*

girlPOSS come PROG realis

noun VP

‘The girl is coming.’

196

*na nʔ pəya-la kʰuDD ha i re*

my two boy-PL play PROG PL realis

NP VP

‘My two boys are playing.’

It is clear that in Raji the structure of the NP consists of the following constituents-

Demonstrative + modifier + noun

Except the noun the other constituents are optional. See the following-



*w<sup>h</sup>əi bəina ʃiŋ*

that big tree

SOV is the common order of words in many Tibeto-Burman languages. Raji speakers use flexible word order(consider the example no.193 ). Earlier the dominant order was SVO but presently SOV is more common. For example-

198

*na-i b<sup>h</sup>ətte ja-ə*

1SGERG rice eat1SG

‘I eat rice.’

199

*əi goRi-ya hwã*

3SG field-LOC COP

‘He is in the field.’

## 5.2 Copular Clauses

Semantically copular clauses represent permanent or temporary states. Their subject occupies the semantic role of either a patient or a dative of state and most of the lexical–semantic load of the predication is not carried by copular verb itself, but rather by an adjective, a noun or an adjectival phrase. See the following-

- (i) Nominal (NP) Predicate

*əi na gaRo hĩ*

3SG my daughter COP

- (ii) Adjectival (AP) Predicate

*kəlawati nikko hwã*

Kalawati good COP

Two copula (linking) verbs / *hwã* / and / *hĩ* / are used in Raji. They act as the link between the subject and the complement. / *hĩ* / is used in equative clauses whereas / *hwã* / is used in attributive and locative. Sometimes the copula and the verb forms both are used by the speakers. Consider the following-

200

*Diwan sing nikko hwã*

DiwanSingh good COP

‘Diwan Singh is a good man.’

210

*əi kəlawati ke kui hwã*

3SG kalawati GEN dog COP

‘This is Kalawati’s dog.’

211

*əi mənɕ<sup>h</sup>wa catur hwã*

3SG man clever COP

‘That man is clever.’

212

*Da mənɕ<sup>h</sup>wa nao -ya hwã*

one man house LOC COP

‘The man is at home.’

213

*nao ya Da bəkkə hwã*

house LOC one goat COP

‘The goat is in the house’

214

*masi ug<sup>h</sup>ə ya hwã*

porcupine cave LOC COP

‘The porcupine is in the cave.’

215

*əi ke gaRo hĩ*

3SG GEN daughter COP

‘(This) is her daughter.’

216

*əi mənɕ<sup>h</sup>wa hĩ*

3SG daughter COP

‘That is a man.’

217

*na name p<sup>h</sup>una hĩ*

1SG name Phunaa COP

‘My name is Phunaa.’

218

*w<sup>h</sup>i na nao hwã re*

that 1SG village COP PRES

‘That is my village.’

Raji simple sentences can be grouped in three different types. The Intransitive clause has only one argument whereas transitive clause has two and the bitransitive clauses have an agent role together with two non agent roles. Such as-

219

*na jəhre*

1SG laugh

‘I laughed.’

220

*nim-la iʃe ʃi*

2DU sleep DU

‘You two sleep.’

221

*na-i b<sup>h</sup>ətt-e ja-ə*

1SGERG riceNATIV eat1SG

‘I eat rice.’

222

*na-i pən pəya-e bora ba*

1SG-ERG REFLX boyNATIV fish give

‘I gave fish to my son.’

### 5.3 Complex Sentences

Sentences having more than one clause are called complex sentence. Complex sentences can be of the following types-

#### 5.3.1 Coordination

If both the clauses are of equal grammatical status the linkage is called coordination.

##### 5.3.1.1 Juxtaposition

Co-ordination without an overt linker occurs widely in world's languages and is also prevalent in Raji. For citation-

223

*na -i nandən -e janaki -e cepa*

1SG ERG nandan NATIV janaki NATIV see

‘I saw Nandan and Janaki.’

224

*nəji ga fya na kui b<sup>h</sup>əra bi re*

2D go PL my dog find come realis

‘You two go and find my dog and bring it.’

225

*na kam k<sup>h</sup>ei ke nao ye gari*

1SG work complete PART village LOC go irrealis

‘I will complete the work and go to the village.’

226

*na b<sup>h</sup>ətt ja -te nao ya gari*

1SG rice consume PART village LOC go irrealis

‘I eat rice and will go to the village.’

227

*na -i b h<sub>ə</sub>tt bora ləgya ja -a*

1SG ERG rice fish bread consume 1SG

‘I had rice, fish and bread.’

### 5.3.1.2 Conjunction

Hindi conjunctors ‘aur’ and ‘lekin’ are often used by Rajis to coordinate two equal sentences.

228

*na pəya -i b h<sub>ə</sub>tt pakaoye nao aur gaRo -i balao*

1SG son ERG rice cooked village CONJ daughter ERG vegetable

‘My son cooked rice and daughter cooked vegetable.’

229

*mənc h<sub>w</sub>a jəhre lekin mite kaRe*

man laugh CONJ wife weep

‘The man laughed but the wife wept.’

### 5.3.1.3 Disjunction

It is a logical relationship between two clauses. Hindi ‘ya’ is used to fulfill this purpose in Raji. Consider the following-

230

*na nəŋ nao -ye bi Ri bi ya nəŋ aiya ji Ri*  
1SG 2SG village LOC come irrealis come DISJ 2SG here 2SG irrealis

‘Either I will come to the village or you would come.’

### 5.3.2 Subordination

Complement, adverbial and relative clauses are the three main types that are found in Raji.

#### 5.3.2.1 Complement Clauses

A prototypical complement clause functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause. See the following-

231

*na pəya -i ʃərabay ja na dukk<sup>h</sup> lago re*  
 my son ERG liquor consume 1SG sad feel realis  
 ‘I am sad that my son drank liquor.’

232

*ai k<sup>h</sup>əi ya w<sup>h</sup>əi nikko pəya hwā*  
 3SG said Comp 3SG good boy COP  
 ‘He said that he is a good boy.’

233

*ija le k<sup>h</sup>əi ya nəŋ hərbe nao ya ləuwe*  
 mother HOR said Comp 2SG early home LOC bring  
 ‘The Mother said that you come home early.’

### 5.3.2. 2 Relative Clauses

234

*byar na -i jo b<sup>h</sup>ətte ja ai nikko hī*  
 yesterday 1SG ERG REL rice NATIV consume that tasty COP  
 ‘The rice that I had yesterday was tasty.’

235

*byar na -i jo bora hətə ai bəina hī*  
 yesterday 1SG ERG REL fish killed that big COP  
 ‘The fish that I killed yesterday was large.’

### 5.3.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

#### 5.3.2.3.1 Temporal

236

*na jako ja te nao ya rugga*  
 1SG food consume REL consume that tasty  
 ‘I went to the home after having the rice.’

237

*ti pi te bade pəi na -i biye pəRiy-ə*  
 water come REL after SEQ 1SG ERG seed sow-1SG  
 ‘After it rained then I sow the seed.’

238

*ai pi ye pəi na bajar ya ga -ə*  
 3SG come SEQ 1SG market LOC go 1SG  
 ‘He came then I went to the market.’

### 5.3.2.3.2 Conditional

239

*na tənkh<sup>h</sup><sub>a</sub> d<sup>h</sup><sub>ari</sub> ri te gedə la ləttə tar peri bao*  
 1SG pay get irrealis then child PL clothes thread stich make  
 ‘if I will get my pay then I will get clothes for the children.’

240

*j<sup>h</sup>kkəl ti bi ha re goRiya g<sup>h</sup>og<sup>h</sup><sub>a</sub> bəgyo*  
 all water come PROG realis field maize wash  
 ‘It was raining heavily therefore the maize was washed away from the fields.’

### 5.3.2.3.3 Purpose

241

*na pahe gDa dau k<sup>h</sup><sub>ani</sub> p<sup>h</sup><sub>aura</sub> hwā*  
 1SG own hole to dig PUR spade COP  
 ‘I have a spade to dig a hole.’

242

*na pahe farm b<sup>h</sup><sub>arau</sub> k<sup>h</sup><sub>ani</sub> ruppəiya hā hī*  
 1SG own form fill up PUR money neg COP  
 ‘I have no money to fill up the form.’

#### 5.3.2.3.4 Simultaneous converb

Raji employs process of reduplication to show this feature.

243

*na hwe hwe t<sup>h</sup>akwa*

1SG sit sit tired

‘I became tired while sitting.’

244

*loTai loTai uk<sup>h</sup>ao pi e*

lie lie vomit come COP

He vomited while lying.’

#### 5.3.2..5 Sequential converb

245

*ai jako ja te rukka*

3SG food consume PART go away

‘He went having eaten food.’

246

*geda dud<sup>h</sup>aj ja te ije*

child milk consume PART sleep

‘The child slept having milk.’

#### 5.3.2.3.6 Direct and Indirect speech

In Raji reported speech is embedded by verb ‘*k<sup>h</sup>ai*’. See the following-

247

*rətən -i k<sup>h</sup>ai ye kəlle ai lai bi ri*

Ratan ERG say COMPL tomorrow 3SG again come irrealis

‘Ratan said that tomorrow he would come again.’

248

*rətən -i k<sup>h</sup>ai ye ai b<sup>h</sup>ətt -e ja Ri*

Ratan ERG say COMPL 3SG again NATIV consume irrealis

‘Ratan said that he would eat rice.’



### 5.3.2.3.7 Tail –head linkage

A typical means of connecting two sentences in a narrative is tail-head linkage. In Raji a pronominal phrase ‘*əi ke bad*’ is used at the beginning of the sentence that relates a new event and afterwards a particle ‘*pəi*’ is used to show the continuity. See the following paragraph-

249

<i>byar</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>pəŋa</i>	<i>bəjya</i>	<i>iskul</i>	<i>-e</i>
Yesterday	NATIV	day	1SG	ERG	five	o'clock	school	NATIV
<i>ga</i>	<i>əiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>hake</i>	<i>mhgŋ</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>fila</i>	<i>əi</i>
go	there	go	PART	hand	face	NATIV	wash	this
<i>ke</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>b<sup>h</sup>itəRi</i>	<i>kəmra</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>pəi</i>	<i>na</i>
GEN	after	inside	room	LOC	come	PART	SEQ	1SG
<i>-i</i>	<i>piT<sup>h</sup>o</i>	<i>can ŋ</i>	<i>-ə</i>	<i>p əi</i>	<i>d<sup>h</sup>uRi</i>	<i>j<sup>h</sup>əuw</i>	<i>-ə</i>	
ERG	wheat-flour	sieved	1SG	SEQ	ball	made	1SG	

‘Yesterday I went to the school at five o’clock. After reaching there I washed my hands and face then went inside the room and then I sieved the flour and made balls with it.’

### Sample Text

*byare*      *ətɛ*    *goha*    *hī ?*    *na-ī*      *həŋ*    *kam-e*      *ji*      *g<sup>h</sup>ə ?*

Yesterday    3PL    where    COP    1SG ERG    what    work NATIV    HAB    do

Where were they yesterday? What work have you all done?

*byare*      *na*      *nao-ya*      *l əi*      *h ī.*      *m ənəŋ-ya*      *k əT<sup>h</sup>əya*      *ga*

Yesterday    1SG    home LOC    PART    COP    jungle LOC    wood LOC    go

Yesterday I was at home. I did not go to the jungle to bring wood.

*ha.*    *na*    *ciraniy-e-la*      *ciran -ya*    *ka*    *hw ā*    *fi*    *ya*      *ha*

NEG    1SG    Woodcutter NATIV PL      cut-LOC    go    COP    PL    CONJ    NEG

My woodcutter friends went for wood cutting or not?

*ka fi ? ka hw ā fi. ti l ə gwa naoya wapəs pi-e*  
go PL go COP PL. rain start home return come

They went. Due to rain they returned.

*fi? həŋ km ɛ jiga fi? ti l ə gwa itudɛ k əT<sup>h</sup> ə ŋ hərpə*  
PL what work do PL? rain start less wood break

What did they do? Due to rain after cutting some wood they went to their home.

*te nao-ya bi ye fi. dɛ goha ka hw ā i re? d<sup>h</sup>ittle*  
PART home LOC come PL. Today where go COP PL realis? down

Where have they gone today?

*ji bi hi nəŋe nao-ya jibi hī. to jauljibiya ha jibih ī. Kam*  
come you home comeCOP then Jauljibi NEG come COP work  
COP LOC PL

They have come down to your house. Are they not coming to Jauljibi?

*to na l ə i hi ruppəiya ha Hwa. ruppəiya gaD*  
then ISG PART COP rupees NEG COP rupees gaurd

I also have work but as I do not have money.

*saipe ji be ri kam to ai - le hi kaTento aikale caio.*  
man give irrealis work PART them- PART COP wood him want

Guard Saheb will give because this is his work. He also wants wood.

*əttre na ya ruppəiya ha hwa. bajar-ya ka te karjɛ*  
now 1SG LOC Rupees NEG COP market-LOC go PART loan

Just now I have no money. I would found some who can lend me money then would

*məraRi pəi cah pani khərcje bɛRi ne. k ə lle di kamya*

find SEQ tea water expenditure give-irrealis tomorrow ABL Work -at  
give money for eatables etc. Please send them for work from tomorrow.

*ghəllwa ji na.*

send PL 1SG

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